

The University of Chicago

“DER UNS DAS LIEDLEIN SANG,”:
A CHARACTERISTIC ENDING IN
FIFTEENTH- AND SIXTEENTH-
CENTURY POETRY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

1938

By
STUART ALBERT GALLACHER

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I. SIGNATURES FROM 1000 TO 1390

Der uns das liedlein new gesang,
Mathes Schantz ist ers genant,
er hat so frei gesungen;
er hat gedicht fru und spat,
bisz er das lied gemachet hat,
zu Eszlingen ist es erklungen!

This example represents a type of ending which frequently appears in German poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It developed out of the custom of giving the poet's name in the course of the text of the poem, and the international custom of the scribe's leave-taking.¹ The ending reaches the peak of its popularity in the historical song, where conditions are most favorable for the introduction of the poet's name and station with such a device. In many types of folk song it is a mere conventional ending,² and the rank of the author displaces the name. When, as is often the case, only the characteristic introductory line "Wer hat dies Lied gesungen?" survives, the original purpose of introducing the poet is lost: the ending is no longer significant for the identity of the poet. Examples of the ending are predominantly South German; there is little Low German material from which to draw.

The use of the author's name in the text of a poem occurs at least as early as the eleventh century. The first examples are found in religious material, and as Julius Schwietering interestingly suggests, are very likely imitations of St. Paul's method of expressing meekness, "but I laboured more abundantly than they

¹Cf. G. A. Crüwell, "Die Verfluchung der Bücherdiebe," Archiv für Kultur-Geschichte (Berlin, 1906), IV, 197-223.

²In French folk songs the author does not give his name more often than in German. Cf. K. Bartsch, Altfranzösische Volkslieder (Heidelberg, 1882), p. xxxiii, "Namen von Dichtern finden wir auch hier fast nie überliefert. . . . Häufiger wird uns der Stand des Dichters oder nähere Umstände der Entstehung des Liedes angegeben. Sehr viele Lieder beginnen ihre letzte Strophe mit der Frage: Wer hat dies Lied gemacht? gerade wie im Deutschen auch, und dann folgt die Antwort."

all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me."³ Near the end of the tenth century, the nun, Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, gives her name on three occasions.⁴ The first clear example in German is found in the Ezzolied (ca. 1064). In the introduction to this poem Bishop Gunther of Bamberg orders his clergy:

ein guot liet machen.
eines liedes sî begunden:
want sî diu buoch chunden.
Ezzo begunde scriben,
Wille vant die wise.⁵

This illustrates the concise manner of the scribe. Some years later Frau Ava (d. 1127) takes the first significant step in the development of the ending. At the end of Das Jüngste Gericht she gives a short autobiography and makes a request of the reader. The first line is a direct form of introduction:

(1. 13) Dizze buoch dichtote. zweier chinde muoter.
diu sageten ir disen sin. michel mandunge
was under in. der muoter waren diu chind
liep. der eine uon der werlt scieht. nu bitte
ich iuch gemeine. michel unde chleine.
swer dize buoch lese. umbe den einen
der noch lebet. unde er in den arbeiten strebet.
dem wunskeſt gnaden. under muoter daz.
ist ava.,.⁶

The priests Adelbreth (ca. 1130), Lamprecht (ca. 1130), and Kuonrat (ca. 1140) also follow the manner of the scribe in telling their status and their source. Near the beginning of his Johannes Baptista, Adelbreth shows his meekness:

(1. 248) Durch sancti iohannis minne
so uant mit sinem sinne
unde mit des heiligen geistes gebe
disse churzhliche rede
ein priester hiez adelbreth.

³I Cor. 15: 10. Cf. Julius Schwietering, "Die Demutsformel mittelhochdeutscher Dichter" (Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, n.F. XVII, No. 3 [Berlin, 1921], 1-3). Henceforth referred to as Schwietering, Demutsformel.

⁴Cf. K. A. Barack, Die Werke der Hrotsvitha (Nürnberg, 1858), pp. 8, 64, and 137.

⁵Cf. K. Müllenhof and W. Scherer, Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa (Berlin, 1892), I, 78.

⁶J. Diemer, Deutsche Gedichte der XI. und XII. Jahrhunderte (Wien, 1849), p. 292. Concerning her request see Schwietering, Demutsformel, p. 12.

er ist scalc und chnecht
des heiligen mannes,
sancti iohannes.⁷

At the beginning of the Alexanderlied Lamprecht, in connection with his name, makes use of a common practice of the medieval poet to get the attention of his public:⁸

Diz lît daz wir hi wurchen
Daz sult ir rehte merchen;
Sin gevuoge ist vil reht.
Iz tichte der phaffe Lambreht.
Er tâte uns gerne ze mare
Wer Alexander wære.⁹

Kuonrat, near the end of his Rolandslied, is unusually meek:

(l. 9077) Ob iu thaz het gevalle
So gethanket ir mîn alle.
Ih heize ther pfaffe Kuonrat
Also iz ane theme buoche geschriben stat
In franziscer zungen,
So han ih in thie latine betwungen,
Thannen in thie tiutiske gekeret.
Ihne han ther niht ane gemêret,
Ihne han ther niht uberhaben.¹⁰

The idea of meekness also appears in Des Todes gehêgede (ca. 1160), by the Austrian nobleman Heinrich von Melk, after the manner of Adelbreth:

(l. 987) Dar bringe dû, got hêre
durch dîner mûter êre
unt durch dîner hêiligen recht
Hêinrichen, dînen armen chnecht,
unt den abt Erchennenfride.¹¹

The priest Arnolth, Heinrich's contemporary, uses Adelbreth's pattern¹² at the beginning of his Loblied auf den Heiligen Geist

⁷Carl von Kraus, Gedichte des XII. Jahrhunderts (Halle, 1894), p. 3.

⁸Cf. Richard Ritter, Die Einleitungen der altdeutschen Epen (Dissertation; Bonn, 1908), pp. 40 ff. Henceforth referred to as Ritter. Cf. also Paul John Jones, Prologue and Epilogue in Old French Lives of Saints before 1400 (Dissertation; Philadelphia, 1933), pp. 17 ff.

⁹Karl Kinzel, Lamprechts Alexander (Halle a.S., 1884), p. 26. Cf. Hans Schreiber, Studien zum Prolog in mittelalterlicher Dichtung (Bonn, 1935), p. 16. Henceforth referred to as Schreiber.

¹⁰K. Bartsch, "Deutsche Dichtungen des Mittelalters," III (Leipzig, 1874), 342.

¹¹R. Heinzl, Heinrich von Melk (Berlin, 1867), p. 80.

¹²Cf. G. Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters (München, 1922), III, 72, "Die Namensnennung 356, 16-19 ist der entsprechenden Stelle in Priester Adelbrechts Johannes Baptista nachgeahmt (248-252)."

(ca. 1160):

- (1. 16) Durehc
des heiligen geistes minne. so uant
disiu churzlichen wart. ein priest
der hiez arnolth. von siben aller-
meiste. saget er von deme geiste. daz
.¹³

In his Maria (ca. 1172), the Bavarian priest Wernher departs slightly from the precedent set by his fellow-priests. In the first instance "der priester heizet Wernher der des liedes began,"¹⁴ he introduces himself after the manner of the scribe, and in the second instance he tells the purpose of the work:

- (1. 5802) d8 wart ein priester des einen
Wernher geheizen,
daz er von dem weize
die spriu abe scheide
mit disen drin lieden,
diu er schriepe ze 8ren
der frouwen diu unsern herren
truoc in ir gezelte
aller diser werlte.¹⁵

Ekkehard's Waltharilied (ca. 930-40), Ecbasis captivi (ca. 940) and Ruodlieb (ca. 1000-30?), which are written in Latin, and the Annolied (ca. 1078), which is written in German, do not give the names of their authors. Although products of monks, they are perhaps too secular for their authors to claim them. By signing their names, authors of this period acknowledge the responsibility of authorship. There is no apparent intent to gain renown or worldly goods. If any glory attaches to the work, it goes to the monastery the monk represents, not to the monk.

With the rise of epic poetry, all sorts of material are treated in verse. The signing of the poet's name now takes on a new aspect. Fame, honor, and often remuneration come to the poet who attains distinction; he is no longer backward about claiming his work. It becomes the custom to sign the name. Stereotyped expressions, long and short, are found in connection with the name. To illustrate this practice I shall classify the examples under four principal groups: (1) religious and didactic; (2) epic; (3) historic; and (4) lyric verse.

¹³J. Diemer, Gedichte der XI. und XII. Jahrhunderte, p. 356.

¹⁴Priester Wernhers Maria, ed. Carl Wesle (Halle a.S., 1927), p. 68, l. 1296.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 248-50.

Religious and Didactic Verse

Examples in religious and didactic verse are not very numerous. The first significant one appears in the beginning of Hartmann von Aue's Gregorius (ca. 1190). Here is the first instance of an introductory relative clause in the form which becomes the characteristic introductory line of the close-strophe:¹⁶

- (1. 171) Der dise rede berihte,
 in tiusche getihte,
 daz was von Ouwe Hartman.
 hie hebet sich von erste an
 diu seltsaenen maere
 von einem guoten sūndaere.¹⁷

Here is a departure from the simpler form of the scribe. It anticipates the slightly more elaborate form used by the epic poets and minstrels later on. Hartmann repeats his name at the end as he gives the purpose of the work:

- (1. 3989) Hartman, der sin arbeit
 an ditz getihte hat geleit
 got und iu ze minnen,
 der gert dar an gewinnen
 ze lōne von iu allen
 daz ir iu lāt gevallen . . .¹⁸

Heinrich von Rugge, an early minnesinger, uses much the same pattern in his last stanza in Der Leich (ca. 1191). This is the first known example of a poet signing his name in a poem in stanzaic form:

- VIII^c Der tumbe man von Rugge hât
 gegeben disen wîsen rât.
 ist ieman der in nu verstât
 icht anders wan in guot,

¹⁶"Close-strophe" is the term I apply to the special stanzaic ending treated here. A description of this type of ending is given on page 37. When poems in rhyming pairs have our characteristic introductory line with other details of the close-strophe, I shall treat them as examples of the close-strophe. Hereafter only this particular type of ending in rhyming verse and the special stanzaic one are referred to as the close-strophe.

¹⁷Hartmanns von Aue Gregorius, ed. H. Paul ("Altdeutsche Textbibliothek," II [Halle a.S., 1882]), 5. The practice of mentioning the title or the name of the poem in the text is not uncommon in Middle-High-German poetry. See Kâthe Iwand, Die Schlüsse der mittelhochdeutschen Epen ("Germanische Studien," XVI [Berlin, 1922]), 77-79. Henceforth referred to as Iwand. To be sure, the last line is not the title of the poem, but the influence of the practice is evident. Cf. also Schreiber, p. 21.

¹⁸Hartmanns von Aue Gregorius, op. cit., p. 106.

Den riwet, sô der schade ergât,
daz ime der grôzen missetât
nieman necheinen wandel hât:
ze späte ist ers behuot.¹⁹

Hartmann begins his Der arme Heinrich (ca. 1200) with an example similar in intent to that of his above examples:

- (1. 1) Ein ritter sô gelêret was
daz er an den buochen las
swaz er dar an geschriben vant:
der was Hartman genant,
dienstman was er zOuwe.²⁰

Thomasin von Zirklaria some years later conforms to the customary display of meekness when he introduces himself at the beginning of Der welhsche gast (ca. 1215). His humility, however, is only pretense. He desires to be accepted into a new group of associates:

- (1. 71) Ich bin von Friule geborn
Und laze gar âne zorn
Swer âne spot min getiht
Und mine tiusche bezzert iht.
Ich heiz Thomasin von Zerclaere:
Boeser liute spot ist mir unmaere.²¹

This, incidentally, is the first instance in which the poet names his native place. Such information is rarely given, even though a poet presents himself to the public for the first time. Freidank reveals his identity and names his book at the beginning of Bescheidenheit (ca. 1250):

Ich bin genant Bescheidenheit
diu aller tugende krône treit.
mich hât berihtet Fridanc
ein teil von sinnen die sint kranc.²²

The Bavarian Reinbot von Durne, with others before him, appears in the period when the name has as yet no particular position in the poem. He names himself three times in Der heilige Georg (1231-35), twice while expressing personal opinions, (1. 2857)

¹⁹Des Minnesangs Frühling, eds. F. Vogt and K. Lachmann (Leipzig, 1930), p. 113. Cf. Schwietering, Demutsformel, p. 38.

²⁰Der arme Heinrich von Hartmann von Aue, ed. H. Paul, op. cit., III, 1. Hartmann uses practically the same lines in his Iwein, ll. 21-29.

²¹Der wîlsche Gast des Thomasins von Zirklaria, ed. Heinrich Rückert ("Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Litteratur," XXX [Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1852]), 3.

²²W. Grimm, Freidank (Göttingen, 1860), p. 1.

"'ey, guote, sage sunder spot von Durne lieber Reinbot," (l. 4871)
 "'ey, guote, sage so dir got von Durne lieber Reinbot," and at
 the end after the manner of the scribe:

- (l. 6125) Hie sol daz buoch ein ende hân.
 er ist saelic, der ez kan verstân.
 swer ez minnet, wizzet daz,
 im ergât sin dinc deste baz.
 des herzogn und der herzogin,
 der beider tihter ich hie bin.
 ich von Durne Reinbot.²³

There are no further examples until Hugo von Trimberg, at the end of Der Renner (ca. 1300), employs the autobiographical pattern of Jansen Enikel:²⁴

- (l. 24560) Der diz buoch getihtet hat,
 Der pflac der schuole ze Tiurstat
 Wol vierzig jar vor Babenberc
 Und hiez Huc von Trimperc.
 Ez wart vol tihtet, daz ist war,
 Do tusent und dri hundert jar
 Von Cristes geburte vergangen waren.²⁵

An example, at the end of Heinrich von Neustadt's Gottes Zukunft (ca. 1300), differs from that in his Apollonius (which is cited below):²⁶

- Diz buch hat mit erbeit
 Meister Heinrich bereit
 Geheizt von der Nâwenstat,
 (Uz der schrift ers genomen hat)
 Ein buch artzat von der kûnst.²⁷

Heinrich von Hesler concludes the examples in this group. Unlike the majority of poets who sign their names, he very carefully weighs the practice of giving the name before finally deciding in its favor, in the beginning of Die Apokalypse (ca. 1310):

- (l. 154) Heinrich heiz ich mins rechten namen,
 Hesler ist min hus genant.
 Bi Gotes guten sit gemant
 Daz ir mir wunschet heiles

²³Carl von Kraus, Der heilige Georg Reinbots von Durne ("Germanische Bibliothek," [Heidelberg, 1907]), 108, 180, and 230. Cf. Schwietering, Demutsformel, p. 16.

²⁴Cf. below p. 13.

²⁵Der Renner von Hugo von Trimberg, ed. G. Ehrismann ("Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins," CCLII [Tübingen, 1909]), 313.

²⁶Cf. below pp. 11-12.

²⁷Die Werke Heinrichs von Neustadt, ed. G. Ehrismann, op. cit., p. 452.

Uwer ieslich sines teiles.²⁸

Epic Verse

Examples in epic verse are more numerous than in any other genre. These examples have already been collected by Käthe Iwand and Richard Ritter.²⁹ Those given here bring out some point pertinent to the purpose and the development of the ending, and show that the habit of giving the name is continuous. Heinrich von Veldeke, the father of the court poets, gives his name four times in the space of fifty lines at the end of his Eneide (ca. 1174). He follows the usual custom of mentioning the source of the work,³⁰ the epic poet's way of showing his meekness:

- (1. 13465) Dat mach man seggen vor wâr:
 sint was dat boec wol negen jâr
 den meister Heinrich benomen,
 dat he niergen nâ mochte komen,

 (1. 13480) doe volmakde et Heinrich
 dorch sîn gebot end dorch sîn bede,

 (1. 13505) dat es genoech kontlich,
 als et dâ dichte Heinrich,
 de't út den welsken boeken las,
 dat et út Lâtîn gedichtet was
 al nâ der warheide,
 die boec heiten Eneide,
 di Virgilius dâ vane skreif,
 von den ons die rede bleif,
 de dôt es vor menich jâr,
 end enlouch he hiet, sô es et wâr,
 dat Heinrich gemaket hât dar nâ.³¹

²⁸Die Apokalypse Heinrichs von Hesler, ed. Karl Helm ("Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters," VIII [Berlin, 1907]), 3. Cf. Schwietering, Demutsformel, p. 11.

²⁹Käthe Iwand furnishes a rather complete list of those signing their names in the endings of the Middle-High-German epics, and makes some interesting comments on the manner in which they give them. Cf. Iwand, pp. 137-47, especially notes 68 to 70 inclusive. Richard Ritter compiles a list of examples which occur in the introduction of the epics, but makes little comment on them. Cf. Ritter, pp. 78-82.

³⁰Cf. Iwand's collection of similar examples, pp. 117-36. Cf. also Ritter's collection, pp. 65-71. Neither Iwand's nor Ritter's collection necessarily contains names in all the examples, for they are primarily concerned with the endings and introductions in the epics, and not with the poets' signatures.

³¹O. Behaghel, Heinrich von Veldekes Eneide (Heilbronn, 1882), pp. 540-41. Concerning the meaning of "meister" in

Wirnt von Grafenberg sees a distinct advantage in signing his name in his Wigalois (1205-1210). It affords him, an unknown, an excellent opportunity to set his name before the public in the hope of obtaining recognition.³² It occurs at the beginning of the poem:

(1. 136) daz ir durch iuwer hōvischeit
dem tihtaer des genāde seit
der ditze hāt getihtet,
mit rimen wol berihtet,
wan ditz ist sīn ērstez werē.
er heizet Wirnt von Grāvenberc.
der werlte ze minnen
enblient erz sīnen sinnen;
ir gruoze wil er gewinnen.³³

With Herbort von Fritzlar in his Trojanischer Krieg (ca. 1210) the purpose is of a still different nature. A touch of vanity lies behind the act of giving his name and qualifications:

(1. 1849) Jr hat diz getichte wol gehort
Ez tichte vō fritslar herbort
Ein gelarter schulere
Ez en ist nicht achbere
Daz er icht tichtē kan
Doch so nimet er sis an
Mit andern tichterē
Der schar wil er merē
Er gert anders lobes niet
Alsus endet sich diz liet.³⁴

Despite his open confession, that he is not a true poet, he obtains some satisfaction for his ego in following the lead of others, i.e., in becoming active in the field of poetry.³⁵ His

connection with Heinrich see Schwietering, Demutsformel, pp. 62 ff.

Servatius ends with the following:

In dutschen dichtede dit Heynrīck,
Die van Veldeken was gheboren.

But this, as Günther Jungbluth points out, is a later addition. Cf. G. Jungbluth, Untersuchungen zu Heinrich von Veldeke ("Deutsche Forschungen," XXXI [Frankfurt, a.M., 1937]), 178 f.

³²Cf. Schwietering, Demutsformel, p. 84.

³³J. M. N. Kapteyn, Wigalois von Wirnt von Gravenberg (Bonn, 1926), p. 7.

³⁴Herborts von Fritzlar Liet von Troye, ed. G. K. Frommann ("Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Litteratur," V [Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1837]), 211. Cf. Schreiber, p. 18.

³⁵Cf. Wilhelm Reuss, Die dichterische Persönlichkeit Herborts von Fritzlar (Dissertation, Giessen, 1896), pp. 5 f. Cf. also Schwietering, Demutsformel, p. 53.

last line is a characteristic close in Middle-High-German epic poetry.³⁶ Wolfram von Eschenbach, an established poet, maintains the unassuming attitude characteristic of the older writers in the beginning of Willehalm (ca. 1210):

- (4, 1. 14) mins sundehaften mundes galm
dîn heilikeit an schriet:
sît daz dû bist gevriet
von allen hellebanden,
sô bevogete ouch mich vor schanden,
mich Wolfram von Eschenbach.³⁷

Several years later, Konrad Fleck, rather unexpectedly, makes the startling announcement, at the end of Flore und Blancheflur (ca. 1230), that,

- (1. 7971) Der daz buoch getihtet hât,
alsô verre er sich verstât,
so enwil er niht hân gelogen,
und hât daz an den gezogen
der sîn welscher meister was.
.....
(1. 7996) nû gewerent in des er ger,
sô endarf er sich niht schamen.
er seite gerne sînen namen,
durch daz, ob er sich nande,
daz man in erkande
ze liebe und ze guote:
dô wart im des ze muote,
ez waere bezzer geswigen,
durch daz in valsche liute iht zigen
daz erz durch ruom taete,
ob er sich genemethaete.³⁸

Konrad follows the conventional epic formula, but refuses to give his name, fearing that some might misinterpret his purpose.³⁹ It is evident that for many the practice of giving the name is more than a mere formality. It is truly a veiled bid for recognition,

³⁶Cf. Iwand, pp. 66-70.

³⁷Wolframs von Eschenbach Willehalm, ed. Albert Leitzmann ("Altdeutsche Textbibliothek," XV), 2 f. Cf. Schwietering, Demutsformel, p. 46.

³⁸Flore und Blancheflur, ed. Emil Sommer ("Bibl. d. ges. d. National-Litteratur," XII), 261-62.

³⁹This attitude of distrust in the public is not first felt by Konrad Fleck. Thomasin von Zirklaria gives us a hint in "boeser liute spot ist mir unmaere"; cf. p. 6 above. Each age has its share of faultfinders and complainers, and this period is not an exception to the general rule. Cf. Rudolf Koch, Klagen mittelalterlicher Didaktiker über die Zeit (Dissertation, Göttingen, 1931), pp. 8-19.

especially when used in long poems.⁴⁰ Now, after the golden age of Middle-High-German epic verse, the end becomes the favored place for the author to sign his name.⁴¹ Minstrels take up the practice, and Heinz der Kellner for example flavors the usual expression of meekness in giving the name with a touch of sarcasm at the end of his Turandot (ca. 1250):

Nû spottet her unde hin,
ez wirt etliches ungewin;
Daz merket bi dem maere,
daz uns Heinz der kelnaere
ze minnen getihtet hât.
Got uns gebe sin und rât,
daz wir nâch unser schulde
verdienen Gotes hulde!⁴²

Now also, the use of the relative clause, already mentioned on page five, becomes more frequent. One such relative-clause line is used to introduce the name of Wernher der Gârtner at the end of his Meier Helmbrecht (ca. 1250):

Wer iu dize maere lese,
bitet, daz im got genaedig wese,
unde dem tihtaere;
der heizet Wernher der Gartenære.
Hie endet sich daz maere.⁴³

A half century later Heinrich von Neustadt gives the first example of a direct question used to introduce the author.⁴⁴ It occurs near the end of Apollonius von Tyrland (ca. 1300):

(1. 20600) Wer ditz puch gedichtet hatt?
Das sag ich euch, das ist nit rat.
Ain schone fraw in dar umb pat,

⁴⁰This seeking after acclaim partly accounts for the numerous examples among epic poets listed in Iwand, pp. 138-44 and Ritter, pp. 78-82.

⁴¹Ritter was under the impression, "Die Einleitung ist in der Regel auch der Ort, an dem der Dichter sich seinen Lesern vorstellt." Cf. Ritter, p. 78. Iwand found that, "Der Schluss ist--ebenso wie die Einleitung--auch der Ort an dem der Dichter sich seinem Publikum vorstellt und sich als Verfasser des Werkes bekennt." Cf. Iwand, p. 137.

⁴²Friedrich von der Hagen, Gesammtabenteuer (Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1850), III, 185.

⁴³Ibid., p. 335. Schwietering suggests there has been a reworking of Wernher's original last lines. Cf. Schwietering, Demutsformel, p. 13.

⁴⁴The use of a direct question to introduce the author is rare. A few examples occur later in historical songs, and they all appear in South German examples.

Maister Hainrich von der Neun stat,
Ain artzt von den püchen.⁴⁵

In the introduction to Tristan (ca. 1310) Heinrich von Freiberg pays tribute to his sponsor,⁴⁶ Reimunt von Liuchtenbure, and touches it off with the modest acknowledgment:

dem ich Heinrich von Vrberc
voltichte disen Tristan,
als ich allerbeste kan.⁴⁷

Johann von Würzburg, who concludes this group, finds it convenient to make himself known in several places in Wilhelm von Oesterreich (1314). At the end he tells us, after the manner of the earlier epic poets, that his source is a foreign work:⁴⁸

(1. 19561) ich Hanns der schribaer
dis aventür ahtbaer
ich in latine geschriben vant.
von Zyzya kunc Agrant
hiezi si also beschriben.⁴⁹

Historic Verse

Since early times chroniclers and historians have said something concerning themselves in their works,⁵⁰ but it is not until the thirteenth century that a few adopt the practice of the epic poets and the scribes, and give their names in the text of the work. The priest Eberhard introduces himself near the middle of the Low German Gandersheimer Reimchronik (ca. 1217) recalling the form of the earlier clerics:

⁴⁵Die Werke Heinrichs von Neustadt, ed. S. Singer ("Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters," VII [Berlin, 1906]), 328. Cf. Schwietering, Demutsformel, pp. 10 and 59.

⁴⁶For other instances of similar examples see Ritter, pp. 76-78. Cf. also Iwand, pp. 150-54.

⁴⁷K. Bartsch, "Deutsche Dichtungen des Mittelalters," V, 7.

⁴⁸Cf. n. 30.

⁴⁹Johanns von Würzburg Wilhelm von Oesterreich, ed. Ernst Regel ("Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters," III [Berlin, 1906]), 278. Johann identifies himself also in the following lines: 13228, 13692, 13727, and 15102.

⁵⁰Cf. L. Störbeck, Die Nennung des eigenen Namens bei den deutschen Geschichtsschreibern des Mittelalters (Dissertation, Halle a.S., 1910), pp. 6 ff.

(1. 879) do dit bökelin to Dūde wart gekart
von einem papen, de heit Everhart.⁵¹

Eike von Repgow is even less informative than Eberhard. In his Vorrede to his Sachsenspiegel (ca. 1222) he gives only his name, (1. 266) "Eyke von Repgowe iz tete."⁵² He adds nothing in his example in the introduction of his Zeitbuch (ca. 1225), (1. 89) "dat is des van Repegowe rāt."⁵³ The most informative example is Jansen Enikel's signature in his Weltchronik (ca. 1260-80), in which he brings several details together:

(1. 83) Der ditz getiht gemacht hat
Der sitzt ze Wienn in der stat
Mit hus und ist Iohans genant.
An der koroniken er es vant.
Der Jansen Enikel so hiez er.⁵⁴

Enikel's pattern is characteristic of the short autobiographical type, which later becomes rather common in the historical song. With the exception of Enikel the chroniclers are not very informative concerning themselves. The mere signing of their names seems to be sufficient, and this does not change with the passing of time despite Enikel's excellent precedent. Nicolaus von Jeroschin for example some half century later only gives us his name in connection with asking help from above.⁵⁵ It appears near the beginning of his Kronike von Pruzinlant (ca. 1330):

(1. 217) Und daz des wirdic mug ich sin,
Nicolaus von Jeroschin,
des hilf mir, got vil gutir,
und du, meitliche mutir!⁵⁶

⁵¹Die Gandersheimer Reimchronik des Priesters Eberhard ("Altdeutsche Textbibliothek," XXV), 33.

⁵²Des Sachsenspiegels erster Theil, ed. C. G. Homeyer (Berlin, 1861), p. 135.

⁵³Das Zeitbuch des Eike von Repgow, ed. H. F. Massmann ("Bibl. d. liter. Vereins," XLII), 5. See also p. 662 concerning the practice of saying the above for "daz ist mīn rāt." Cf. also Schwietering, Demutsformel, p. 25.

⁵⁴P. Strauch, "Jansen Enikels Werke," Mon. Germ. Historica, III, 2.

⁵⁵Cf. Ritter, pp. 9-19.

⁵⁶Di Kronike von Pruzinlant des Nicolaus von Jeroschin, ed. Ernst Strehle (Leipzig, 1861), p. 17.

Lyric Verse

In the lyric the manner in which the name appears finally develops into a transitional form suitable for acceptance into the stanzaic set-up of the historical and folk song. Despite the favorable situation the stanzaic structure of lyric verse offers the poet to formulate a simple, convenient ending in which to insert his name, early minnesingers rarely make use of it. The significance of signing their verses, at this time, is not important enough for them to adopt such a custom. The character of the poem does not permit of a signature. The so-called Namenverbot⁵⁷ concerning the lady spoken of in the poem, probably affected the poet's attitude toward mentioning his own name. Moreover, the flaunting of the name in short poems detracts from, rather than enhances the poet's work. The examples by minnesingers are not sufficiently numerous for one to generalize as to the sort of poem in which the name appears. Walther von der Vogelweide at the end of one of his poems (ca. 1210) gives his name, but he is merely expressing an opinion of his own and is not signing his verses. This is not an infrequent type in lyric:

so mak der ungehofte tougen
wol erwerben hoves zil:
ich Walther bi den ungehofen balde
belibe durch ir gumpel spil.⁵⁸

Not until Neithart von Reuenthal, the prolific poet of minnesongs, do we find a transitional form adapted to historical or folk song. In the Abgesang in the last stanza of Der leite stap (ca. 1240), he gives the first example of the close-strophe in lyric poetry. It is an excellent transitional form:

Der uns disen reien sank,
der ist genant von riuwental;
er macht den kinden vröude: vech ist im sin überal:
wir sül'n im des (sinen) reien gerne sagen dank.⁵⁹

Neithart does not affect his contemporaries, but becomes a model

⁵⁷Cf. Konrad Burdach, "Über den Ursprung des mittelalterlichen Minnesangs, Liebesromans und Frauendienstes" (Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XLVII [Berlin, 1918]), 1074, "Das Gesetz des Namenverbots, das die älteren Liebesdichter den von ihnen besungenen Damen gegenüber oft brutal übertraten, dringt jetzt in der Lyrik der hohen Minne durch."

⁵⁸Friedrich von der Hagen, Minnesinger (Leipzig, 1838), I, 260.

⁵⁹Ibid., III, 200.

for later poets who write in stanzas. The custom of merely signing the name continues side by side with the development of the close-strophe. There is now a change of attitude on the part of the poet. The lyric poet seeks to elicit a word of thanks for the work done, while the epic poet sought for renown. About this time, i.e. the middle of the thirteenth century, the custom of signing the name becomes frequent in all the groups treated above. This wide use of the custom might have influenced Neithart.

Regenbogen is the next minnesinger to give his name. He shares the autobiographical attitude with Jansen Enikel, but on a much larger and more informative scale, as the beginning of one of his poems, ca. 1280, shows:

Ich Regenboge
ich was ein smit,
uf hertem aneboz
gewan ich gar kumberlich min brot,
armuot hat' mich besezen:
ez wart niht lenger uf gezogen,
dar nach gar schier greif ich ein anders an.
Nach sanges (gir)
so vuor ich wit:
het ich die rechten maz',
an rimem lit' ich keine not,
die kan ich wol gemezzen,
daz stilt ir al gelouben mir,
daz ich wil tinten, als ein kunstig man....⁶⁰

Witzlav, a Low German prince of Rügen, mentions his name on three occasions (ca. 1300), each time in the Abgesang of the stanza. The first example, which reveals only the identity of the poet, is a personal reflection suited to lyric, "bedenke Witzlav! din wisheit mache in nicht ze elendem gaste:,"⁶¹ the second, a direct form of introduction, "Witzlav der junge singet diz liet:.....,"⁶² the third, acknowledgment of authorship, "Witzlav, diz schrip."⁶³ Heinrich von Meissen (Frauenlob) adds two more examples to those by minnesingers. The first (ca. 1300), again personal, shows that the author has no small opinion of himself:

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 346. For the tradition linking Regenbogen with the forge see Archer Taylor, The Literary History of Meistergesang ("Modern Language Association of America," General Series; New York, 1937), p. 43. Henceforth referred to as Taylor, Meistergesang.

⁶¹Hagen, Minnesinger, III, 81.

⁶²Ibid., p. 83.

⁶³Ibid., p. 84. These poems were originally Low German. Cf. Karl Goedeke, Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung.² (Dresden, 1884), I, 252.

Swaz ie gesank Reimar unt der von Eschenbach

swaz ie gesprach

der von der Vogelweide,

mit so vergoltem kleide,

ich Vrouwenlob vergult' ir sang, als ich iuch bescheide,

si hant gesungen von dem veim, den grunt han si verlazen....⁶⁴

The second (ca. 1310), also a personal opinion, occurs in the Abgesang of the last stanza, and stands in contrast to the bold confidence of the first:

Ach liechter ougenweide!

her Tot, waz welt ir an mir began? nu helfet klagen
in leide

den Vrouwenlob besunder!

dem wil der tot hie an gesigen.

ach Got, war zuo bin ich gedigen!

wol hin, laz varn: stirbe ich, daz ist niht wunder.⁶⁵

Herman Damen, a North German, in a poem about 1310, ends the examples of lyric poets, and recalls the form used by the moralists of the previous century:

Der sol sich des niht schamen,

daz er suoche gnaden rat.

sus leret Herman Damen.

amen, amen, amen!⁶⁶

Jests and miscellaneous material:

There are a number of examples of poet's signatures in material that does not fit into any one of the above classes. I shall treat them separately. They occur at a time when the custom is familiarly used everywhere. Käthe Iwand has already collected some of these examples.⁶⁷ They are pertinent to the development of the close-strophe, and also show that the authors clearly reveal their acquaintance with the forms used by the more conventional poets. Heinrich Raffolt, who appears when the place for signing the name is still undecided, puts his name at the beginning of Der Nuszberg (before 1250). This example shows his particular type of meekness:

Heinrich Rafolt getihtet hât

dem die sinne keinen rât

ze siner lêre nie gap

⁶⁴Hagen, Minnesinger, II, 344. Concerning Frauenlob's self esteem see Schwietering, Demutsformel, p. 60.

⁶⁵Hagen, Minnesinger, II, 352. ⁶⁶Ibid., III, 162.

⁶⁷These examples are only mentioned by Iwand at the end of her list, pp. 143-44.

er engelêrte nie buoch stap,
wan im ist unbekant,
was zer schrift ist gewant,...⁶⁸

Herman Fressant uses the end of his Ehefrau und Bulerin (ca. 1250). He adds a detail, in connection with his signature, which later frequently occurs in the close-strophe, i.e., he names the town where the author is well known:

Der wirt iu allen hie bekant:
er heizet Herman Fressant.
Also hât er sich genennet;
ze Augspurg man in [wol] erkennet.
Und erzielt' im reiner vrouwen sit'.
hie hât diu red' ein ende mit.⁶⁹

Fressant's ending needs only the characteristic relative clause to be typical of endings a century and a half later. His purpose is also clearly seen in "Der wirt iu allen hie bekant." His pattern is not followed by his contemporaries. At the end of Der schwangere Mönch (ca. 1250), Der Zwingewaere makes use of the popular "Hie endet sich diz maere"⁷⁰ before introducing himself thus: "daz macht' der Zwingewaere und hat geseit des münches not."⁷¹

Jakob Appet steps off the beaten path, and gives a little satiric humor at the end of Der Ritter unterm Zuber (ca. 1250):

Alsus sô wart der wirt betrogen.
diz maere ist wâr und niht gelogen.
Wip kûnnen grôze kûndikeit:
alse Jakob Appet dâ hât geseit:
Der habe, der huete deste baz:
verliurt er iht, waz schat ime daz?⁷²

Johannes von Freiberg, also rather alert, is somewhat of a psychologist. His introduction is very effective. His listeners are all ears in anticipation of what must follow his modest estimate of himself, and are attracted by the way he calls them to attention. This occurs after his signature at the beginning of Das Râdlein (ca. 1250):

Johannes von Vrîberk
der mangel wunderliche werk
uf der erden wirken kan,
der wil uber heben an
und uns ein buechel tihten
von saeltsaenen geschichten.

⁶⁸Hagen, Gesamtabenteuer, I, 445.

⁶⁹Ibid., II, 239. ⁷⁰cf. n. 36 above.

⁷¹Hagen, Gesamtabenteuer, II, 69. ⁷²Ibid., p. 308.

Ez ist wâr, daz es geschach,⁷³
 wen der ez hêrt' unde sach,
 der sagte mir'z vûr die wârheit;
 nû hoeret, lieben kint gemeit,
 diu saeltsaenen maere.⁷⁴

Ruprecht von Würzburg follows a well known form by directly introducing himself, and following it with a request for divine aid at the end of Zwei Kaufmänner und die treue Hausfrau (ca. 1250):

Getihtet hât diz maere
 Ruopreht ein Würzburgaere,
 und hât ez brâht biz an daz ort.
 Nû biten wir des vaters wort
 und die suezen magt Marien,
 daz sie uns geruoche vrien
 vor werltlichen schanden
 und allen helle banden
 mit ire gnâden handen.⁷⁵

Siegfrid Dorfaere also requests divine aid at the end of Der Frauen Trost (ca. 1250), and binds it with his name and the title of the poem:⁷⁶

Des bitet der Sifrit Dorfaere,
 diz buochelin[es] tihtaere,
 daz ist genant der Vrouwen trôst.⁷⁷

Near the beginning of Der Wiener Meerfahrt (ca. 1250), der Freudenleere makes use of a relative-clause line to introduce himself, as he verifies the actuality of what he is about to relate:

(1. 44) Der saget' mir diz maere:
 daz hât der Vrôudenlaere
 gemachet, als ez dort geschach,
 als man im ze Wiene jach,
 von guoter liute worte,
 dô er daz maere hôrte;...⁷⁸

The Thuringian Sibot is not a backward fellow, for he tells us of the set obstinacy of women in one breath, and in the next reveals his identity, an unusual procedure, indeed. This occurs in the

⁷³Concerning manners of verification of the events see Iwand, pp. 117 f., notes 63 and 64.

⁷⁴Hagen, Gesammtabenteuer, III, 111.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 382. For other instances of appealing to the Virgin Mary see Iwand, pp. 55-59.

⁷⁶Cf. n. 17 above.

⁷⁷Hagen, Gesammtabenteuer, III, 450. For other such instances of the poet calling upon the Lord for one blessing or another at the end of the poem see Iwand, pp. 44-50 and note 28.

⁷⁸Hagen, Gesammtabenteuer, II, 468.

beginning of Der vrouwen zuht (1250-60):

- (1. 13) Sprich ich swarz, si sprichet wîz,
dar an kêrt si allen iren vîz,
Un tuot daz sêre wider Got:
diz maere tinte Sibot.⁷⁹

Herrant von Wildonie contributes several instances. The first, from Diu getriu kone (ca. 1257),

- (1. 275) swaz noch getriuwer konen sf,
die tuo got alles leides fri.
den allen sol ich sîn bekant
von Wildonie Herrant.⁸⁰

tells specifically that he desires to make himself known. The other examples show forms where the name is given to lend weight to what he has said. For example, in Von dem blozen keiser (ca. 1259-60) Herrant makes a fervent request, and completes it with "der ger ich armer Herrant von Wildonie genant,"⁸¹ or in Von der katzen (ca. 1269-71) he does some moralizing, and concludes it with "den rat iu ratet Herrant von Wildonie genant."⁸² In Der verkehrte Wirth (ca. 1270) he becomes conventional and resorts to a characteristic introductory clause to introduce himself:

Der iuch der aventiur mant,
derst von Wildonie Herrant.⁸³

Der Vriolsheimer closes Der entlaufene Hasenbraten (ca. 1260) with the short, popular form:

Diz ungelogen maere
macht uns der Vriolsheimære.⁸⁴

A certain Kuonrat, author of Alten Weibes List (ca. 1270), also uses the short, direct form to introduce himself,

Diz maer' der arme Kuonrat
Hat getihtet und geseit.

and ends the poem a few lines later with the common

Hie [mit] hat diz maer' ein ende:
Got uns sin[en] segen sende.⁸⁵

Dietrich von der Glezze, near the end of Der Gürtel (before 1290), is also rather direct, and, moreover, according to his words,

⁷⁹Ibid., I, 41. Concerning Sibot's status as a Thuringian see Edward Schröder, "Erfurter Dichter des XIII. Jahrhunderts," Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, LI (1909), 154-56.

⁸⁰K. F. Kummer, Die poetischen Erzählungen Herrants von Wildonie (Wien, 1880), p. 157.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 167. ⁸²Ibid., p. 176. ⁸³Ibid., p. 148.

⁸⁴Hagen, Gesamtabenteuer, II, 152. ⁸⁵Ibid., I, 205.

original:

(1. 827) Von der Glezze Dietrich
hat mit sinem sinnen mich
Hübschen liuten getilhet
ertrahet und berihet...⁸⁶

Rüdiger von Hünchhover recalls Johannes von Freiberg (cf. p. 17)
in the beginning of Der Schlängel (ca. 1290):

Man hoeret, der ez vernemen wil,
wunderlicher dinge vil,
Diu nu ergant und sint geschehen,
der ich iu eines wil verjehen,
Ruedeger der Hunthovaer[e]
und ist ein warez maer[e].⁸⁷

Konrad von Würzburg (d. 1287), an important figure in the history of the development of the close-strophe, consistently gives his name. Because of the varied material--epics, poetical stories, religious poems and dance songs--in which he gives his name, it is difficult to place him in any one of the above classes. Therefore, I choose to treat him separately. Konrad may be considered the summation and climax of all the examples that have gone before. In his examples the custom of signing the name is represented in its fullness. He signs his name in various types of verses, and in a variety of forms. Several examples show a near stereotyped form--"von Wirzeburc ich Kuonrat."⁸⁸ Two interesting signatures occur in poems of stanzaic structure. The first appears in the next to last stanza of Die Klage der Kunst (ca. 1270), "bi Cuonzen der uns stat hie bi."⁸⁹ This is the only

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 477.

⁸⁷Ibid., II, 407.

⁸⁸This line occurs in the following of Konrad's works: Das Herzemaere (Lambel), l. 579; Der werlte lon, l. 263; Otte, l. 760; Engelhard, l. 208 and l. 6492; Partonopier und Meliur, l. 192; Schwanritter, l. 1554, and Der trojanische Krieg, l. 266. It also occurs in Diu halbe bir, l. 512, a work which Georg Arnold Wolff believes to be by Konrad--cf. ibid., Diu halbe bir ein Schwank Konrads von Würzburg (Dissertation; Erlangen, 1893), pp. xxviii-xxx. Richard Ritter, Die metrische Brechung in den Werken Konrads von Würzburg und seiner Nachfolger (Dissertation; Erlangen, 1916), pp. 77-79, and Hans Laudan, "Die halbe Birne nicht von Konrad von Würzburg," Z.f.d.A., L (1908), 158-66, disprove Konrad's authorship. Other examples of Konrad's name are Silvester, ll. 80-81, "mich tumben Cuonraden von Wirzeburc dar uf gewent"; Alexius, ll. 1406-07, "und daz ich armer Kuonrat von Wirzeburc gelebe also" and Goldene Schmiede, ll. 120-21, "also daz mir Cuonrade von Wirzeburc daz heil geschehe."

⁸⁹Edw. Schröder, Kleinere Dichtungen Konrads von Würzburg (Berlin, 1926), III, 8.

example where Konrad fails to supply "von Würzburg" some place in the text of the poem. The second, the most important of his examples, revives the form of Neithart's Abgesang, and as with Neithart, shows the practice in connection with the dance:

Disen tanz hat iu gesungen
Chuonze da von Würzeburk;
ir wünschet, daz von siner zungen
nie mer rim gevliege lurk.⁹⁰

The signature at the end is now firmly established as a convention.

There is a period of literary inactivity following Johann von Würzburg (1314) (cf. p. 12), until the advent of the widely known Austrian Heinrich der Teichner about 1350. Even thereafter, the second half of the century is not very fruitful, with respect to the number of poets, but the large amount of poetry by der Teichner, Suchensinn and Peter Suchenwirt makes up for the scarcity of authors. Especially important are the examples in which they give their names, for they do so unrelentingly, and thereby insure the continuance of this practice. Heinrich der Teichner is very productive, and concludes each of his poems with "Also sprach der Teichner." Many of these may be falsifications.⁹¹ This crisp form becomes the general pattern for poets who give their names in poems not of stanzaic structure, i.e., Sprüche, and other poems of a didactic nature in rhyming pairs or in alternate rhymes.

Peter Suchenwirt, the Austrian didactician, falls in line with der Teichner. Within the period from 1356 to 1395 he furnishes nineteen examples of his signature. He is a little more versatile in his procedure than is der Teichner. Only once (ca. 1377) does Suchenwirt use the pattern of his contemporary, "Also spricht der Suochenwirt,"⁹² as a concluding line.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 19.

⁹¹"Völlig offen ist noch die Frage, ob einzelne der 747 Gedichte die Teichnerschlusszeile Also sprach der Teichner zu Unrecht tragen." Cf. W. Stammer, Verfasserlexikon (Berlin und Leipzig, 1936), Vol. II, col. 334. For a complete list of the lines preceding the concluding line see H. Niewöhner, "Des Teichners Gedichte," Z.f.d.A., LXIX (1932), 145-208.

⁹²A. Primmer, Peter Suchenwirts Werke (Wien, 1827), No. XLVI, l. 160. The other examples are as follows: XLV, l. 108, "Ich hiez davon nicht Suchenwirt" (ca. 1356); XXVII (1369), l. 360, "Von dann eylt ich Suchenwirt"; XXXIX (ca. 1370), l. 234, "Des pitt

Another contemporary, the early Meistersinger Heinrich von Mügeln, mentions his name on two occasions. Both instances appear in Meistergesänge. The first is in Der meide kranz (ca. 1360), and bears little resemblance to forms that have preceded it:

Den meister dises buches fragt
der keiser: der sich sust entsagt:

(1. 771) Der keiser sprach: 'von Mögelin
Heinrich, was dunket dich gesin?
welch undr in hab die wirdikeit?'⁹³

The second occurs in Der tum (ca. 1360), and states his appraisal of his ability:

(Stanza 9, 1. 5) Wan ich getichtes twerk
von Mögelin Heinrich sulches werk
florieren mak: der künste berk
mir ist zu hoch, ich stüre bit.
Des reich genaden hant mir ungelerten;
lasz mich zusamme klubene die verrerten
getichtes risen sunder guft.⁹⁴

Meistersinger do not make it a rule to sign the name. To be sure, many mention their names--these I shall treat later--and leave the impression that they make a habit of it, but, except for Suchensinn and Hans Sachs, few frequently sign their names. Suchensinn consistently does, usually in the last stanza of his poems. He writes primarily for a courtly public,⁹⁵ and, throughout his productive period, the last half of the fourteenth century, his characteristic "O Suochensin," "Ach Suochensin," or "Ich

ich tumber Suchenwirt"; XXXIII (1375?), 1. 123, "Mit trewen rat ich Suchenwirt"; XXXII (1375), 1. 50, same; IV (1377), 1. 570, same; XXXIV (1377), 1. 127, "mit trewen wünsch ich Suchenwirt"; XL (1378), 1. 232, "Da von so rat ich Suchenwirt"; XLI (1378), 1. 1526, "Daz klag ich Peter Suchenwirt"; XLII (1378), 1. 194, "Rat ich Peter Suchenwirt"; XXXV (ca. 1378), 1. 115, "So fleissig wünsch ich Suchenwirt"; XLIII (1378), 1. 65, "Die ticht ich Peter Suchenwirt"; XXXVI (ca. 1385), 1. 83, "Nu rat ich Peter Suchenwirt"; XXXVII (1387), 1. 115, "So wünsch ich Peter Suchenwirt"; XXXVIII (1394), 1. 351, "Des gen ich Peter Suchenwirt"; V (1395), 1. 151, "Des pitt ich Peter Suchenwirt"; XX (?), 1. 164, "Die warhait meld ich Suchenwirt"; and XLIV (?), 1. 96, "Dez chan ich Peter Suchenwirt." The dates are according to Prümmer's list, pp. xlviii.

⁹³W. Jahr, Heinrich von Mügeln, Der Meide Kranz (Borna-Leipzig, 1908), p. 112.

⁹⁴Vier Meistergesänge von Heinrich von Mügeln, ed. U. Kube ("Germanische Studien," CMII [Berlin, 1932]), 59.

⁹⁵Cf. G. Ehrismann, Geschichte d. d. Literatur, Schlussband, p. 548.

Suochensin"⁹⁶ is a cry for recognition.

⁹⁶Cf. Meisterlieder der Kolmarer Handschrift, ed. K. Bartsch ("Bibl. d. liter. Vereins," LXVIII [Stuttgart, 1862]), 564, CLXXI, "Ich Suochensin wil disen krieg verslinton"; 566, CLXXII, "O Suochensin, laz niht von reinen wiben"; 567, CLXXIII, "Uf dine gnad tuot Suochensin diz singen"; 569, CLXXIV, "ach Suochensin, nu lobe sie gar"; 570, CLXXV, "Ach Suochensin, du singst so hart von frouwen"; 572, CLXXVI, "O Suochensin, solt juncfroun niht vergezzen"; 574, CLXXVII, "wann Suochensin begraben lit"; 576, CLXXVIII, "O Suochensin, die helde schiut man sere"; and 577, CLXXIX, "Ich Suochensin wolt gern den meien brisen."

II. SIGNATURES AND THE CLOSE-STROPHE

FROM 1390 TO 1600

The historical song becomes a recognized genre in the second half of the fourteenth century. It adopted the custom of signing the name from such contemporary poets as Heinrich der Teichner, Peter Suchenwirt, and Suchensinn. As it becomes more popular, the use of the close-strophe occurs more frequently. The stanzaic form of the historical song is the principal factor in the final development of the close-strophe. The close-strophe begins as a convenient device for introducing lesser known poets, and, divested entirely of its original purpose, ends as an ornament in folk songs. The better known poets, i.e., the writers of moralizing verse, continue to sign their names after the pattern set by der Teichner. They seldom volunteer any information concerning themselves, beyond the mention of their native town. In verse belonging to the period from about 1390 to 1600, I have found: (1) signatures by Meistersinger; (2) signatures in historical songs; (3) the close-strophe in historical songs; (4) the close-strophe in folk songs. After 1560, signatures are rarely found, and the close-strophe becomes entirely conventional.

The use of the close-strophe to introduce the poet does not put an end to the practice of signing the author's name outside the close-strophe.⁹⁷ In fact, the name occurs as frequently outside the close-strophe as within it from the beginning of the fifteenth century to 1560. The choice of one form or the other

⁹⁷ Poets also gave their names in acrostics as well as in the verse toward the end of the poem. Cf. K. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, II, 202, "Häufiger Gebrauch war es, dass Dichter ihren Namen durch Akrosticha zu erkennen gaben, oder denselben am Schlusse in den Vers brachten." Examples of names given in acrostics are not treated here. Goedeke also makes an interesting comment concerning the spread of the practice of signing the name. Cf. *ibid.*, "Der Gebrauch war namentlich bei den Meistersängern üblich und scheint durch sie in das kirchliche Lied eingeführt." Meistersinger who gave their names in acrostics may have influenced the same sort of practice in the Kirchenlied, but the common practice of poets signing their names in the verse at that time was more likely the reason for signatures in the Kirchenlied.

is principally determined by the author's purpose. The close-strophe is an effective means of introduction for a little known poet. The better known writers usually dismiss themselves with a single line containing their names. Songs in stanzaic form often introduce the author's name in the last stanza, and thus create a pattern similar to the close-strophe treated here. In poems of couplets or alternating rhymes, the name almost invariably appears at or near the end, as in Heinrich der Teichner's verse. Often, as in the close-strophe, the poets insert a few remarks in connection with their names, and thus express their opinions of events and surroundings. As a general rule, very little bitterness or sarcasm appears. The poets often show ready wit and clever use of common expressions.

Signatures by Meistersinger

As stated above, Meistersinger do not usually sign their names. So far as the available texts permit of positive assertions, a few signed their names only once, others several times, and still others only in poems intended for the public (i.e., not in Meisterlieder). A few consistently sign their names to almost any kind of poem. After 1560, some Meistersinger add the signature, usually with the date, at the end of the poem, and do not insert it in the text.

The Meistersinger Muscatblut, whose activity is over about 1450, emulates Suchensinn in displaying his name, "O Muskatplut!" "Spricht Muskatplut;" "Ich Muscanpluot gib got die Er,"⁹⁸ etc. Not one of his ninety-nine examples employs the close-strophe. Uolrich Wiest yields but one example, "Das lied hat dichtet Uolrich Wiest fürwar" (1449).⁹⁹ Michel Beheim is represented at this time by his characteristic "ich michel behn von stüzbach bei weinsperge."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸Cf. Lieder Muskatbluts, ed. E. v. Groote (Cöln, 1852). Ninety-nine of the one hundred poems have his name in the last stanza; No. 44, a fragment, does not bear his name. It is possible that some are falsifications as in the case of der Teichner. Cf. Taylor, Meistergesang, p. 45.

⁹⁹Rochus, Freiherr von Lillencron, Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen (Leipzig, 1865), I, No. 89, 416. Hereafter referred to as Lillencron. An Augsburg Meistersinger, perhaps the first, cf. Rudolf Pfeiffer, Die Meistersingerschule in Augsburg und der Homerübersetzer Johannes Spreng (München und Leipzig, 1919), p. 2.

¹⁰⁰Cf. Adolf Holtzmann, "Meistergesänge des XV. Jahrhunderts,"

Probably, these men, as did Suchensinn, desired to be known, and, as Adolf Holtzmann points out, made a living from their poetry.¹⁰¹ Only when they failed, did they resort to a trade. Thus, they had a specific purpose in signing their names. Other Meistersinger of the fifteenth century, probably of this same type, also give us examples. Jörg Schiller furnishes several examples between about 1465 and 1500.¹⁰² About 1480, Hans Folz signs his name, and is one of the few Meistersingers who consistently do so. His characteristic "ret (or spricht) Hansz von Wurmsz barwirer" occurs until about 1496, after that a variation "spricht Hanns Volcz barbirere" is found as late as about 1517.¹⁰³ About 1488, Jörg

[Pfeiffer's] Germania (Stuttgart, 1858), III, 309; "Hie heb ich an ich michel behamere," 310; "Ich michel behn lass mich hie sehn, ist kein geselle," 327. Cf. also Heinrich Oertel, Michel Beham von der statt triest (Schweinfurt, 1916), p. 81, "iecz wil ich michel beham dis puch vn ticht lan pleiben vnd nit mer da von schreiben" (ca. 1463). Concerning the status of Beheim as a Meistersinger see Taylor, Meistergesang, pp. 25 f.

¹⁰¹Cf. Adolf Holtzmann, op. cit., "Zunächst fasse ich die Meisterschule ins Auge. Wie es mir scheint, bestand die Schule im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert ebenso vollkommen ausgebildet, wie im sechzehnten. Der grosse und wichtige Unterschied ist aber, dass die frühern Singer die Kunst als ihren Beruf betrieben, die spätern als eine fromme Uebung und Unterhaltung. Michel Beheim wollte von seiner Kunst leben, und nur weil er durch die Poesie sein Brot nicht sicher verdienen konnte, trieb er daneben das Handwerk. Ebenso seine Zeitgenossen. Dagegen die Meistersinger des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts waren Handwerker, die nicht daran dachten, durch etwas andres, als ihr Gewerbe, ihren Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen. Die Poesie war für sie eine ehrenvolle Unterhaltung."

¹⁰²Cf. Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin, ed. C. Halthaus ("Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Litteratur," VIII [Quedlinburg, 1840]), 39, "als es Jörg Schilher hatt gericht" (ca. 1465); cf. J. Görres, Altteutsche Volks- und Meisterlieder (Frankfurt, a.M., 1817), p. 263, "Also sang Jörg Schilther" (ca. 1480); cf. P. Wackernagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied (Leipzig, 1867), II, 842, 843, and 845, "als dich Jörg schilher pitt," "so singet Jörg schilher" and "Jörg Schiller gesungen hot." Cf. also A. Taylor and Frances H. Ellis, "A Bibliography of Meistergesang" (Indiana University Studies, No. 113 [Bloomington, 1936]), p. 42. These are henceforth referred to as Hätzlerin, Görres, Wackernagel, and Taylor-Ellis respectively.

¹⁰³Cf. A. L. Mayer, Die Meisterlieder des Hans Folz ("Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters," XII [Berlin, 1908]), 213; "Kunt Hansz Folcz barwirer," 199; "Spricht Hans von Wurmsz barwirer," 370 (all before 1480); "Spricht Hansz Folcz barwirer," 87; same, 136; "Spricht Hans von Wurms barbirer vndt gibt rote," 179 (all before 1496); "Also spricht Hans Folcz barwirer" (ca. 1500), 362; and "Spricht Hanns Volcz barbirere" (ca. 1517), 355. Cf. also

Breining furnishes two examples in Meisterlieder, "Hat in Augsburg Jörg Breyning dies gedicht"¹⁰⁴ and "Singt Jörg Breyning offenbar."¹⁰⁵ The next examples occur about 1500, one each by Sixt Buchsbaum,¹⁰⁶ Herman Franck,¹⁰⁷ and Martin Schleich.¹⁰⁸ Peter Frey gives us one in 1506 and two about 1510.¹⁰⁹

Martin Maier, one of the few Meistersinger to use the close-strophe, gives us an example in 1507, not in a Meisterlied.¹¹⁰ In 1511, when he also uses the close-strophe (cf. p. 46), he departs from the customary soberness of the Meistersinger and adds a touch of color as a conclusion to an historical song:

Das new gedicht zu lob und eer
schenkt euch Martin von Reitlingen,
den ich ain armer burger nenn,
zu Eszlingen im Neckartal
da ist sein narung schmal;
sicht das ain weiser rat nit an,
so ist er ain verdorben man!¹¹¹

Other Meistersinger employing signatures are Lienhard Nunnenpeck in a Meisterlied (ca. 1511),¹¹² Kunz Has in a folk song (ca. 1520),¹¹³ Balthes Wenck in a Meisterlied (1521),¹¹⁴ Michael Müller

"Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins," XXVIII (1853), 33, 74, 336, for examples of his signature in carnival plays; also XXX, 1195 ff.

¹⁰⁴G8rres, p. 310. Cf. Taylor-Ellis, p. 31.

¹⁰⁵G8rres, p. 317.

¹⁰⁶Wackernagel, II, 859, "Sixt Buchsbaum hat gesungen."

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 1077, "dycht Hermann franck der bündler."

¹⁰⁸Cf. Ambraser Liederbuch, ed. J. Bergmann (Stuttgart, 1845), p. 328, "macht Martin Schleich, wol in des Speten thone."

¹⁰⁹Liliencron, III, No. 251, 5, "als Peter Frei gedichtet hat"; Wackernagel, II, 1071, "Das hatt gesungen Peter frey"; and Ambraser Liederbuch, p. 161, "das hat gesungen Peter Frey."

¹¹⁰Cf. K. Goedeke and J. Tittmann, Liederbuch aus dem 16. Jahrhundert ("Deutsche Dichter des 16. Jahrhunderts," I [Leipzig, 1867]), 354, "Mertin Mayer mit namen." Cf. Taylor-Ellis, p. 40.

¹¹¹Liliencron, III, No. 262, 45.

¹¹²Cf. Mone, Anzeiger, Vol. VIII, col. 373, No. 131, "der Lienhart Nunnen Peck mercket das."

¹¹³Liliencron, Deutsches Leben im Volkslied um 1500 (Berlin and Stuttgart, 1884), p. 143, "Wer den Kunzen Hasen kent, der wirt in manchen dicht genent, hat disz lied corrigirt."

¹¹⁴J. Bolte, "Zehn Gedichte auf den Pfennig," Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, XLVIII (1906), 41, "Als Walthes Wenck gesungen hot."

in two Meisterlieder (ca. 1525 and 1530),¹¹⁵ Raphael Duller in a Meisterlied (1543),¹¹⁶ Ciriacus Schnaus in an historical song (1552),¹¹⁷ and Peter Probst in several Sprüche, all about 1566.¹¹⁸ Wolf Gernolt, the blind poet, signs several poems between 1540 and 1550,¹¹⁹ and tells of his condition in moving words:

Wolf Gernolt mit dem namen,
der leider nicht gesicht,
den frummen allensamen
hat er dis lied gedicht,
daz sie mit fleisz fürfaren
allein in götlichem wort
und gott sein schaf bewaren
vors türkischen keisers mord.¹²⁰

Hans Sachs, the greatest of all the Meistersinger, deserves special mention. His characteristic "das wünschet zu Nürnberg Hans Sachs" is commonly accepted as his mark of identification. It is familiarly used in jests, fables, didactic verse, and even carnival plays,¹²¹ but not once in Meisterlieder.¹²² Nor is the Ehrensprüchlein,

¹¹⁵Goedeke-Tittmann, op. cit., p. 329; Görres, p. 27, "Maria ist sie genannt, Ain Jungfraw also werthe:.....Das sang Michel Müller." Concerning Mary-Verse see Taylor, Meistergesang, pp. 86-88, and the bibliographical footnote 17.

¹¹⁶Görres, p. 277, "Spricht Raphael der Dichter."

¹¹⁷Liliencron, IV, No. 600, 552, "Amen, das wünscht Ciriacus Schnausz" (1552).

¹¹⁸Emil Kreisler, "Die Meistergesänge und Sprüche des Peter Probst," Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, XIX (1911), "Wünscht Peter Probst in seim gedicht!" 137, 139, and 144.

¹¹⁹Cf. Wackernagel, II, 765, "Wolff Gernolt mit dem nammen"; 766, "Wolff Gernolt, ein blinder man"; and 767, "wünscht uns Wolff Gernolt, Amen."

¹²⁰Liliencron, IV, No. 506, 245.

¹²¹Cf. the volumes of Hans Sachs' works in the "Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart." Cf. also Sämtliche Fabeln und Schwänke von Hans Sachs, eds. E. Goetsche and K. Drescher ("Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts").

¹²²Cf. K. Goedeke, Dichtungen von Hans Sachs, Vol. I ("Deutsche Dichter des 16. Jahrhunderts," IV [Leipzig, 1870]), containing a selection of 156 characteristic Meisterlieder.

Hans Sachs Schuh-
macher und Poet dazu.¹²³

a signature, for Hans Sachs did not use it. After about 1560, the Meistersinger often add a few lines in prose to the poem, e.g., "Gedicht durch Andrean Semmelhofer, von Fylczhofen, welcher Ao 1579 am neuen Jarestag alhie schul gehalten, und dis Lied in seiner Handschrift mir vmb das Ich Im vorgesungen, verehrt hat,"¹²⁴ a shorter one "Zu Wells durch Paul Freudenlechner gedicht Sambstag den 16ten Sebtentbris 1600,"¹²⁵ and the very concise "d. gregor scholer 1582,"¹²⁶ at the end of Gregor Schaller's Ein Schulkunst.

Signatures in Historical Songs

In order to present a clear picture of the signatures in historical songs, I divide them into periods approximating a generation, i.e., generally twenty-year periods. The first signature is Peter von Rez's in his poem Schlacht bei Schiltarn (1396). He precedes his signature with a few didactic remarks:

Jarzal ist schon gemeszen,
der warheit schüll wir nicht vergeszen:
si vachten umb di gerechtichait.
Got der wend ir all ir laid,
Maria ir aller sel in freuden sez!
also redt uns Peter von Rez.¹²⁷

Johannes Engelmar some years later (1414-18) has a similar invocation and signature:

Die red Johannes Engelmar
gedicht hat von geschehen dingen.
Got helf uns dasz uns woll gelingen!¹²⁸

In Konrad Silberdart's Die Zerstörung von Hohenzollern (1423), the author concludes by making light of the work of others, and then signs his name:

¹²³Cf. Taylor, Meistergesang, p. 121. Cf. ibid., p. 122, "These doggerel verses are not a fragment of a Meisterlied. So far as is known, they occur for the first time in 1778." Cf. also ibid., note 94.

¹²⁴H. Widmann, Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Meistergesanges in Oberösterreich mit Benutzung bisher unedirter Handschriften, Programm (Steyer) (Vienna, 1885), p. 29.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 33.

¹²⁶F. Streinz, "Der Meistergesang in Mähren," Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, XIX (1894), 201.

¹²⁷Liliencron, I, No. 39, 160. ¹²⁸Ibid., No. 51, p. 261.

Sprech iederman amen, wer disz hör
 dasz wir ouch der engel kôr
 erfüllent, sprach der maister Cuonrat Silberdraut,
 der uns disz waurhait gesprochen haut
 mit grobem unvermeszen gedicht.
 Der kluoghait haut er geachtet nicht,
 ob rimen sien ze kurz ader ze lang,
 er hauts nit gemachet uf maistergesang
 her Suochensins und Regebogs
 her Nitharts noch her Frowenlobs
 er haut sich uf der warhait gericht,
 nit anders hört man in disem gedicht,
 des ziucht er sich uf Jesus Crist
 und alle die, den daur umb ze wiszen ist!¹²⁹

Hans Rosenplüt in Ein Spruch von Beheim (1427) follows a conventional form in "So hat gedicht Hanns Rosenplut."¹³⁰ Here and elsewhere, he usually places his name in the last line of the poem.¹³¹

In the years from 1430 to 1450, the examples are very scanty. To be sure, the use of the close-strophe, described on pages 37-8, makes definite strides at this time. Few feel inclined to give their correct names at this time. In addition to Rosenplüt, only two poets identify themselves. The first is a certain Chipphenberger, who gives us only his name.¹³² The other, Heinrich Wittenweiler--who really doesn't belong here, but for lack of a better place is included here--uses a form reminiscent of the Middle High German prologue.¹³³ This occurs near the beginning of Der Ring (ca. 1450):

(1d 1. 13) So mügt irs haben für ein mâr,
 Sprach Hainreich Wittenweillâr.
 Derschallend in dem hertzen fro
 Hebt die teiding an also.¹³⁴

In the following twenty-year period, 1450 to 1470, the

¹²⁹Ibid., No. 59, p. 291. Cf. Archer Taylor, Meister-gesang, p. 23, "and passed a slurring remark on the art (Meister-gesang)."

¹³⁰Liliencron, I, No. 61, 299.

¹³¹Ibid., No. 68 (1431), p. 339; No. 93 (1450), p. 436; No. 109 (1459), p. 511; and No. 110 (1460), p. 520. Cf. also "Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins," XXX (1853), pp. 1075 ff.

¹³²Liliencron, I, No. 75, 371.

¹³³Ritter, pp. 40 ff.

¹³⁴Edmund Wieszner, Heinrich Wittenweilers Ring ("Deutsche Literatur," Reihe: Realistik des Spätmittelalters, III [Leipzig, 1951]), 19.

signing of the name is accompanied by an expression of the poet's attitude. Töni Steinhuser (1468) sees a pleasant side of his surroundings:

Darumb sing ich usz guotem muot
disz nüwes liedlin von Walzhuot;
Töni Steinhuser was 8ch im here,
ze Appenzell gat er usz und in,
er dienet schönen fröwlin fin
und priset in ir ere!¹³⁵

Hans von Westernach (1469), on the other hand, looks differently upon prevailing conditions:

Joh Hanns von W8sternach han sölichs gedicht,
umb dasz sich er und frömkait aufricht,
damit tuoe got unser presten wenden
und us sein götlich hilf senden,...¹³⁶

A few signatures not in historical songs make the picture of this period much more complete. Aelblin von Eselberg offers one in Das nackent pilde vnd ain maisterliche tiefe rede (ca. 1460), in which he follows the manner of the Middle High German poets in showing meekness:

(1. 544) Hab ich geredt vneben,
So ist sie doch on alle far,
Wann recht als ain ander tor
Vnweise wort vnd tumber werck
Treib ich Aelblin von Eselberg!¹³⁷

Mysner in Junker Pfennig,¹³⁸ also about this time, reveals little, other than the name, but a certain Kaltenpach in Was die liebe sey exhibits an attitude not unlike Westernach's:

(1. 181) Durch lieb litt er den tott.
Die götlich lieb helff vns vs nott,
Das vns chain valsche lieb verschwach!
Das wünscht vns der Kaltenpach.¹³⁹

The last thirty years of the fifteenth century show an increase in the number of historical songs signed by their authors. The advance of the Turks into Christian lands, and the internal

¹³⁵Liliencron, I, No. 122, 557. Roethe, Allgemeine deutsche Biographie, XXXV, 756.

¹³⁶Liliencron, I, No. 125 a, 561.

¹³⁷Hätzlerin, p. 270. Geuther does not consider this a name of a person. Cf. K. Geuther, Studien zum Liederbuch der Klara Hätzlerin (Halle, 1899), p. 152.

¹³⁸J. Bolte, "Zehn Gedichte auf den Pfennig," Z.f.d.A., XLVIII (1906), 56.

¹³⁹Hätzlerin, p. 285. Kaltenpach is otherwise unknown.

discord in South Germany and Switzerland lead many poets to flavor their remarks with a religious-didactic element. Uolrich Hëpp would like to see the proud Turks subjected to the glory of Christianity: "spricht Uolrich Hëpp, das sech ich geren" (1471).¹⁴⁰ Rudolf Montigel's "Damit so end ich min gesang" (1474)¹⁴¹ is reminiscent of the Middle High German "Hiemit endet diz maere," and so, too, is his request of the Virgin Mary. As we shall see, references to the Virgin Mary are frequent in the years before the Reformation. The activities of the Bernese forces at Pontalier (1475) are gratifying to Veit Weber:

Der ber was geloufen usz dem hol,
er ist im ergangen also wol,
wider heim ist er gesprungen.
Got geb im fürbasz glück und heil,
hat uns Vit Weber gesungen!¹⁴²

The Swabian Mathis Zoller, however, is tired of confusion:

Er fñrt ein stechelin stangen
der Zollner es singen tuot.
Maria, din kind hieng blosze,
das well es understan,
dasz die irrung grosze
wird schier ein ende han!¹⁴³

In the last stanza of the famous Schlacht bei Sempach (1476) Halbsuter gives his name: "Halbsuter unvergeszen Also ist er genant."¹⁴⁴ In the same year (1476) Veit Weber expresses his thanks to his comrades for their bravery. This song about the Battle of Murten begins its last stanza with "Vit Weber hat dis lied gemacht,"¹⁴⁵ an occasional alternate for our characteristic

¹⁴⁰ Liliencron, II, No. 126, 8.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., No. 129, p. 26. Meyer von Knonau, ADB, XL, 8.

¹⁴² Liliencron, II, No. 135, 64. Otto von Greyerz describes him thus: "Tapfer und frohmütig von Natur, schwungvoll in Empfindung und Ausdruck, liebenswürdig, nicht ohne Humor, scheint er zum Sänger der Burgunderkriege wie berufen." Cf. ibid., Historische Volkslieder der deutschen Schweiz ("Die Schweiz im deutschen Geistesleben," I; Leipzig, 1922), 17. For further information concerning Weber see pp. 17-19.

¹⁴³ Liliencron, II, No. 136, 67.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., I, No. 34, 139. Liliencron holds that the song was written in 1386 at the time of the Battle of Sempach. Cf. ibid., p. 140. Jakob Bucher sets the date about 1476. Cf. ADB, X, 405-06. Greyerz also places it in the fifteenth century, cf. ibid., pp. 11, 16, and 17. Characteristics in the ending favor the later date.

¹⁴⁵ Liliencron, II, No. 142, 95.

introductory line (cf. p. 37). Hans Veiel sings "usz friem muot,"¹⁴⁶
a song about the same battle. Mathis Zoller ends with his usual
plea for peace:

Maria hilf uns, dasz in kurzen stunden
ein guoter frid werd funden!
Des helf ouch got der herr!¹⁴⁷
wünscht sich Mathis Zoller.¹⁴⁷

Fritz Fellhainer (1478) also pleads for better conditions:

Nuon merkt, ir frumen kristenleit,
es geschicht grosz übel in kurzer zeit,
davon tuot Fritz Fellhainer singen.
Tankt got seiner pittern marter
und pitt Mariam die künigin schon
dasz si uns behüt von pösen dingen!¹⁴⁸

Henze Gutjar (1481) follows Veit Weber in introducing himself directly, but in the rest of the stanza his words about his miserable plight are the minstrels' plea for money:

Henze Gutjar uns diz lidelin sang,
sine wintercleider die sint ome krank,
ir merket wol wie ichs meine;
mine hern von Erfort sie cleiden mich wol
und schad on werlich cleine!¹⁴⁹

Heinz Gluf uses a proverb effectively to provide the setting for his name in the last few lines of Hofmäre vom punt ain spruch (1489):

(1. 113) Es ist langst gewest der sit,
dasz kinder und auch toren nit
verschweigen, was si sehen.
Musz ich von mir selber jehen:
Hainz Gluf pin ich genant,
lauf hin und wider in di land
und pin von geperd ain tor;
dester mer kumpt mir zu gehor,
das sust maniger verstiesz,
wo ich mich clug merken liesz.¹⁵⁰

Hans Ortenstein requests the Virgin Mary to let us remain in joy
"dasz wir te deum laudamus singen!" (1491).¹⁵¹ Other writers show
a similar desire for peace, and an inclination toward the didactic.

Hans Schneider (1492) offers a cure for the prevailing ills:

Got woll, dasz alle sache und die
werd hingelegt on alle mie

¹⁴⁶Ibid., No. 143, p. 98. ¹⁴⁷Ibid., No. 144, p. 102.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., No. 153, p. 145. Bartsch, ADB, VI, 615.

¹⁴⁹Liliencron, II, No. 160, 169.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., No. 173, pp. 268-69. ¹⁵¹Ibid., No. 179, p. 299.

und niemand mer trag neid noch hasz,
so gieng es aller welt des basz
und mocht der armen werden rat,
als Hanns Schneider gesprochen hat.¹⁵²

Sebastian Brant (1492) expresses the wish that God may grant Maximilian victory in battle and apologizes for his own literary effort:

Got geb den sig dir [Maximilian] in die hand,
beßert Sebastianus Brandt!
Disz klein gedichtlin nit veracht,
in einer stund hat ers gemacht.¹⁵³

Pochsfleisch (1499) exhibits a didactic element:

Das gib ich euch zu rechter lere,
dasz ir gedenket an got und ere
dann der sele wurt an reue nit rat
der sein eigen hern verraten hat,
als Judas der junger tat,
der ward verloren an der stat.
Hiemit hat der spruch ein end,
Pochsfleisch ist der tichter genent.¹⁵⁴

From 1500 to 1520 the practice of signing the name continues to be popular, and the desire for peace is prominent in the authors' remarks. Toward the end of the second decade some of the poets indulge in a little chiding and deriding. Hans Peck hopes the war will soon be over, and "das lied, das er gedichtet hat, schenkt er eim weisen rate" (1502).¹⁵⁵ The Spruchdichter Hans Schneider contributes several examples in his usual sober manner.¹⁵⁶ Gibs nieman wider (1504), an obvious pseudonym, follows Gluf in using a proverb to clinch his point:

Mein haimlichkait thu ich euch kund,
ich habs geredt ausz herzen grund;
der troffen hund gar laute greint,
wer b8s leut strafft, der schafft im veind.
Gibs nieman wider ist mein nam,
wer mich wil sehn, vindt zu Nusquam.¹⁵⁷

Schenkenbach (ca. 1512) gives us an excellent example of the attitude of one of the several warring factions:

Hilf Gott, dasz wir bezwingen
Der Bauren Uebermuth,
Die uns ums Leben bringen
Viel manchen Ritter gut!

¹⁵²Ibid., No. 181, p. 306.

¹⁵³Ibid., No. 183, p. 312.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., No. 195, p. 363.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., No. 223, p. 462.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., Nos. 235, 244, and 250, pp. 512, 548, and 568; III, Nos. 255, 259, 270, 271, and 279, pp. 21, 35, 79, 82, and 110.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., II, No. 240, 536.

Ihr'n Hochmuth soll man brechen,
 Soll sie unter die Mähren stechen
 Manchen guten Gesellen rächen,
 Bringt in gross Ungemach:
 Singt uns der Schenkenbach.¹⁵⁸

Gabriel vom Liechtenstein (1513-14), on the other hand, adds a touch of wit:

und haist er schon Gabriel vom Liechtenstein;
 wo man iszt und trinkt, ist er gern,
 wo man hackt und reut,
 wolt ich dasz man morgens frue umb sechs
 zu nacht leut!¹⁵⁹

Veit Schreiber (1514) represents the soft-tongued variety of song writer:

Zuo lob dem edlen herren
 herzog Jörg aus meixner land,
 herzog Erich in hohen eren,
 herzog Heinrich wol erkant
 lasz ich mein gsang erschellen,
 si schenken mir was si wellen;
 wo ich pin bei den gesellen,
 Veit Schreiber nent man mich.
 Graf, sich eben für dich!¹⁶⁰

Erasmus Amann a few years later (1519) ends one of his poems with a scorching rebuke:

Noch meld ich etlich dichten
 ym wirtemberger land
 das rote kreuz vernichten,
 sy schämen sich keines stand;
 es bleibt nit ungerochen
 sölliche missetat,
 erhangen und erstochen,
 die treuw und eid hand brochen,
 Erasmus gesungen hat.¹⁶¹

Several others also give their names at this time.¹⁶²

Between 1520 and 1547, signatures continue to occur frequently. The poets after 1520, who sign their names are generally very conservative in their remarks. Most of them are seekers

¹⁵⁸Erk and Böhme, Deutscher Liederhort (Leipzig, 1894), Vol. III, No. 1292. Hereafter referred to as Erk-Böhme.

¹⁵⁹Lillencron, III, No. 283, 132.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., No. 288, p. 161. ¹⁶¹Ibid., No. 320, p. 261.

¹⁶²Hans Glaser von Urach, ibid., II, No. 237, 522; Wilhelm Sunneberg, No. 233, p. 500; Jörg Widman, No. 247, p. 560; Eraszm Amann, III, No. 291, 169; Jörg Graff, No. 305, p. 211; and No. 306, 216; Wackernagel, III, 371, 373, 375, and 376; Lillencron, Deutsches Leben im Volkslied, p. 336, and Erk-Böhme, Vol. III, No. 1770; Conrat Mayer, Lillencron, III, No. 317, 249; Martin Weisze, No. 310, p. 234; Hans von Schore, No. 342, p. 344.

after peace. Now and then a poet indulges in a little sarcasm or satire. Erasmus Amann offers two additional examples (1522 and 1525) of his cutting rebukes:

"Die knecht vertrieben da die nacht
mit blinderen ain groszen bracht.
Den veinden sei vergeben
in jener welt! Erasmus melt,
wünscht in das ewig leben!"¹⁶³

"Verzeichen mir an allen spot,
es ist wider das götlich pot:
dein nächsten solt du lieben!
Der uns das liedlin hat gedicht,
Erasmus thuot sich trieben."¹⁶⁴

In his own way Peter Stubenfol (1525) is none the less harsh:

Er ist auch ain bluotgürig man
auf alt gulden, die hant vil gran.
Jeh nem ir auch ain seckel vol
und geb darvon ain schlechten zoll,
wie doctor Eck ist selten ler.
von Peter habt ir dise mer
genant von Straszburg Stubenfol
vil guoter gsellen kennen wol.¹⁶⁵

Spiesz der Landsknecht a few years later (1534) expresses a very Christ-like attitude in:

O gott, vergib dem solche that,
der schuld an dieser fehde hat!
manich mensch ist zu tode gekomen,
dasz je den seelen werde rath!
hat uns Spiesz der landsknecht gesungen.¹⁶⁶

About 1540, Matthäus Brunner vents his feelings in Ein Ulmer Lied vom Wucher, and expects those attacked not to be angry with him:

Also will ichs bleiben lon
und will euch all gebeten hon,
ir herren wol gemuote
ir wolt hie nit zürnen an mich;
furwar ausz keinem neid sing ich,
allein der sel zuo guote
hab ich das lied gedichtet schon,
sag ich bei meinen guten.
Darzuo helf uns Christus der herr!
disz lied machet uns ein weber guot
zuo Ulm, heiszet Teus Bronner.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³Ibid., No. 361, p. 405. ¹⁶⁴Ibid., No. 371, p. 435.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., No. 370, p. 432. Roethe, ADB, XXXVI, 708.

¹⁶⁶Liliencron, IV, No. 457, 119. This is perhaps a pseudonym.

¹⁶⁷Karl Steiff and Gebhard Mehring, Geschichtliche Lieder und Sprüche Württembergs (Stuttgart, 1912), No. 67, p. 329. Henceforth referred to as Steiff.

An element of impudence which appears occasionally may be represented by Jörg Lang's remarks (1546):

Das lied hat euch gesungen
zuo dienst nach krebses far
Jörg Lang von Simelbrunnen
ist ers genant fürwar;
ob es euch schon thuot verdrieszen,
darnach fragt er nit vil,
er waisz der pfefferseck nicks zuo gnieszen,
darum redt er was er will.
Kyrie, die Spanier seind im land!¹⁶⁸

After 1547, the practice of signing the name suddenly stops, except for a few isolated examples, e.g., the signature of the Bavarian priest Sebastianus Halteinspill (1555):

Disz lied zu aim Trost schenken will
Sebastianus Halteinspill
Allen Christen, so auf Erden
Verfolgt und gefangen werden
Von Gottes Worts und Warhait wegn.
Gott wöl in gebm das ewig Lebmi!¹⁶⁹

The Close-Strophe in Historical Songs

The close-strophe treated here consists of three or more of the following elements: (1) an introductory relative clause, also referred to as the characteristic introductory line; (2) the name or rank of the author; (3) the place where the poet is well known; (4) a characteristic of the poet or the poet's purpose in writing the poem; (5) personal remarks or opinions of the author. The number of lines in the stanza determines the number of elements present. The sequence of these elements does not necessarily follow in the above order. Now and again, the relative clause is not the first in the stanza. A few poets arrange the elements to

¹⁶⁸Liliencron, IV, No. 539, 372.

There are a few others who sign their names in the above period. These follow: Tyman Felman, *ibid.*, III, No. 343, 347; Hans Birker, Nos. 357 and 359, pp. 392 and 399; Lienhart Braitinger, No. 363, p. 412; Fritz Becken, No. 381, p. 482; Hansz Franck, Steiff, p. 251; Conrat Mayr, *ibid.*, p. 367; Hans Marschalk, Liliencron, IV, No. 420, 4; Hans Salat, No. 429, pp. 33-34, J. Baechthold, ADB, XXX, 587; Johannes Schradin, Liliencron, IV, No. 522, 319, Heyd, ADB, XXXII, 438; Hans Bawman, Liliencron, IV, No. 553, 423, Bartsch, ADB, II, 153, and Backemor, Liliencron, IV, No. 566, 451. With the exception of Backemor, a Low German (cf. p. 1), the authors are Swiss, Swabians, and Bavarians.

¹⁶⁹Hartmann, *Historische Volkslieder* (München, 1907), I, 29. Hartmann calls Sebastianus Halteinspill "Ein nicht ungelerner bairischer Priester," p. 30.

their liking, and provide us with examples in which the name appears in the first line and the relative clause follows. In poems of rhyming pairs the elements are the same, but the order may vary.

The petty wars between the cities and the nobles begun in 1377, the continued conflicts between Leopold of Austria and the Swiss Confederacy (1386-1388), the religious unrest caused by the Council of Constance (1414-1418), and the civil war in Switzerland (1440-1446) afforded sufficient incentive for songs about current events and happenings. These account for the rise of historical song. In 1414, we find the first examples of the close-strophe. One is High German and the other Low German. Both examples are closely connected with the dance, as are the earlier close-strophes of Neidhart von Reuenthal and Konrad von Würzburg:

"Ei der uns disen reien sang
ein guoter berkgesell ist ers genant
wol all zuo hand,
er hat in gar wol gesungen,
wol all zuo hand
ist im ganz wol gelungen."¹⁷⁰

"Di uns dissen reigen sang,
Niclaus Uppschlacht is he genant,
to Brandenborch is he wol bekant,
he lovet di fursten mit flite!"¹⁷¹

A second Low German example appears soon after (1420):

Di uns dit nie lied gesang,
ein smedelmecht is he genant,
he heet Kōne Finke,
he furt ein hemmerken up sine hand,
gud bierken mag he wol drinken!¹⁷²

This short autobiography contains all the elements of the close-strophe except the author's home.¹⁷³ In 1428-30, for the first time since Hugo von Trimberg, above (p. 7), Ebrhart Schenk den

¹⁷⁰ Liliencron, I, No. 49, 228.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., No. 48, p. 225.

¹⁷² Ibid., No. 56, p. 275. K. Bartsch, ADB, VII, 19.

¹⁷³ The five-line stanza ordinarily does not permit the giving of all the characteristics, name, place, rank, and purpose. Whenever the poet gives his name and rank, he usually neglects to name the place of abode. On the other hand, if the name and place of abode are given, the rank is omitted. Further, if no name is given, or if only the rank is given, the purpose changes, the author then often uses the ending for telling why the poem is written. The above example is also a good illustration of a four-line Aufgesang and a one-line Abgesang, often seen in the five-line stanza.

Win in Mainzer Unruhen uses the characteristic introductory line in a poem written in couplets. Ebirhart refers with playful gravity to his authorship:

Wer uns nu disen spruch macht
und dise geschicht zu rime bracht,
den han ich uch noch nit genant,
idoch dasz er uch werde bekant,
so wil ich uch en nennen,
uf dasz man in moge irkennen:
Ebirhart Schenk den Win lasz trinken.¹⁷⁴

In the twenty years following (1430-1450), the close-strophe becomes well established. Although there is little change in the autobiographical pattern used by Kōne Finke, there is a change in the purpose of the close-strophe. Some authors employing fictitious names begin to use it to express personal feelings:

"Und der das lied gedichtet hat,
wont zu Ascherleb in der stat
wol uf dem lieben wane,
er ist genennet Pfaffenfeind,
das haben sie zu lone, zu lone." (1431-1435)¹⁷⁵

"Wer uns das lied sang
und sein sinn darzu zwang,
der ist ein Hofere.
Mocht ers geniszen umb ein gewand,
er wolt wol dichten mere." (1435)¹⁷⁶

"Der uns diesz liedlin macht,
Burenfiend der hats erdacht,
er solte sin dorheit maszen;
so tribet er gar vil der narren spil
und wil sich sin nicht erlaszen." (1449)¹⁷⁷

A few give their names and maintain the autobiographical pattern.¹⁷⁸ Their few remarks are words of praise for their companions. Two authors give their rank¹⁷⁹ and two others the place of abode.¹⁸⁰ These unidentified authors also express a few words of praise for their companions.

The years from 1450 to 1470 show an increase in the use

¹⁷⁴Lillencron, I, No. 63, 318. ¹⁷⁵Ibid., No. 69, p. 346.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., No. 71, p. 352. ¹⁷⁷Steiff, No. 6, p. 30.

¹⁷⁸Peter Weiglein, Lillencron, I, No. 77, 375; Hans Ower, No. 83, p. 400; the Low German Vrischmei, No. 86, p. 407.

¹⁷⁹zwei berggesellen, ibid., No. 78, p. 378; the Low German ein rüterknecht, No. 84, p. 404.

¹⁸⁰One from Jsenhofen, ibid., No. 79, p. 388; one from Nürnberg, No. 92 A, p. 426.

of the close-strophe. The examples are not spread evenly over the period, but appear in certain years when an important event stimulates poetic expression. Three of the examples in this period are Low German (1454-1456).¹⁸¹ Not one of these three show the name or rank. The authors' remarks are such, that they do not care to be recognized--the purpose apparent in Kōne Finke is gone, and the close-strophe for them is an outlet for personal feelings. Several of the poets, however, still desire to let people know who they are, and indulge in a few sly remarks. Jacob Veter (1452), although a poor man, is not hesitant to sing about his condition:

Der uns das lied gesungen hat,
armuot hat in umbfangen,
sie tuot im chrenchen fruo und spat
sein peutel ist im swanger
gar selten hat er peraites geld,
das tuot im sicher ant.
Jacob Veter all der welt
spiegler ist er genant.¹⁸²

Balthasar Mandelreisz (1453) does a little prophesying:

Der uns das lied neu hat gedicht,
der kristenhait zuo er gericht,
Mandelreisz ist ers genant.
Die Türken werden all zertrant,
in kurzer frist verdrungen!¹⁸³

Hans Wispeck (1457) apparently enjoys better conditions than Veter:

Der uns das liede newes sang,
Hans Wispeck ist er genant,
zuo Wien in Oesterreiche,
ain ritter an des kīnges hof,
wa findt man sein gleichen?¹⁸⁴

Gilgenschein (1462), like Veter, bemoans his own predicament as a wandering singer:

Gilgenschein ist ers genennet,
der uns das liedlin dicht,
sin nam ist wol erkennet,
grosz gut beswert in nicht!

¹⁸¹Ibid., Nos. 101, 102, and 103, pp. 475, 478, and 480.

¹⁸²Ibid., No. 99, p. 459. Roethe, ADB, XXXIX, 654-55. swanger: schlank, dūnn, cf. J. und W. Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, Vol. IX (Leipzig, 1899), col. 2239.

¹⁸³Liliencron, I, No. 100, 465. Bartsch, ADB, XX, 170. Through an error in reading a manuscript, G8rres, p. 251, gives the name as Mandel Veit. Cf. Liliencron, ibid., p. 463.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., No. 107, p. 500.

Also nennt er sich,
sin seckel ist im pfennig ler,
das ist sin alter sit.¹⁸⁵

Nor is Heinz Ubertwerch (1469) backward about expressing his ideas:

Der uns das lidlein hat gedicht,
so hort ir seinen namen,
den ich euch hie gar wol bericht,
er wil sich des nit schamen:
Heinz Ubertwerch, der in erkent,
wo er im land tut reiten,
also er sich mit namen nent.
Nuremberg, du wirst vast geschent
noch gar in kurzen zeiten!¹⁸⁶

Two other examples occur in this period. Both are by unidentified poets, one of whom calls himself ein gelerter mann (1457).¹⁸⁷ The other shows a survival of the request for the intercession of the Virgin Mary, a request frequently used in Middle High German verse:

Der uns das lied hat geticht,
got hab in in seiner pflicht
und lasz in nicht verderben!
Maria pitt dein kind für uns,
dasz wir sein huld erwerben.¹⁸⁸

These examples show, as do those of the previous period, that as long as the poet refrains from making derisive remarks, he does not hesitate to sign his name.

For the next thirty years (1470-1500), the close-strophe is still primarily used as an instrument for introducing the poet, and secondarily as an expression of the poet's attitude. The eighties, years of comparative peace and quiet in the south of Germany, are particularly void of examples. Even in the north, where there is a little unrest, the events do not find much poetic reaction, even in historical song. The authors, in general, are serious until the late nineties, when humor appears now and again. In many examples dealing with events of the last year of the century, some poets, who are careful not to say who they are, brag and boast. Those willing to give their names are more cautious. For these thirty years, the examples are numerous, and I shall

¹⁸⁵Ibid., No. 113, p. 528. He also gives another one, No. 112, p. 526. Bartsch, ADB, IX, 171. Cf. Steiff, p. 41, "Ueber seine Persönlichkeit ist nichts bekannt."

¹⁸⁶Liliencron, I, No. 123 b, 566. Roethe, ADB, XXXIX, 118.

¹⁸⁷Liliencron, I, No. 108, 503.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., No. 106 a, p. 496.

give only a few illustrations of the various attitudes of the poets.

Hans Judensint (1474) speaks right bluntly:

Der disen spruch gedichtet hat,
grosz gut er sin ding wol schafen lat
und kert sich nit vil daran.
Hans Judensint von Spier heisz ich der man,
er hat gedicht das und noch vil mer.
Ich wunsch den steten gluck und er,
dar zu aller selikeit,
das bliiben bi ir gerechtikeit,
dasz sie da von nit werden getrunge
und nit werden von den herren bezwungen! 189

Matheus Künig (1475) exemplifies a serious and religious mood:

Und der gemacht hat das geticht,
got hab in in seiner pflicht!
Matheus Künig ist er genant,
das kind nem in pei seiner hand
unde für in für die raine maget,
die an kainem sunder nie vorzaget,
dasz sein auch werd vergessen nit,
dasz das kind auch für in pitt! 190

As mentioned above (p. 32), such pleas are particularly prevalent at this time. Hans Veiel (1478) touches upon a problem common to all ages:

Der dis liedli am aller ersten sang,
Hans Viol es ze lob erclang
den eidgnoszen allen sant;
er hats gesungen usz friem muot;
er spricht, es wer menger gerne rich
und lebte ander lüten glich,
so vermögend wirs nit all am guot! 191

Several years later a conscience-smitten Kunz Schott (1499) openly confesses:

Der uns das liedlein neus gesang,
die grechtikeit in darzu zwang,
er must der welt verkünden;
Kunz Schott führt kein kristlich leben,
leit stätiklich in stunden. 192

Other examples, in which the name is not given, also aptly illustrate the attitudes of the poets, in their light as well as serious moods. An unknown singer, probably a minstrel, reminds us of Gilgenschin and his plight:

¹⁸⁹Ibid., II, No. 132, 36.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., No. 128, p. 20. Bartsch, ADB, XVII, 381.

¹⁹¹Lillencron, II, No. 154, 149.

¹⁹²Ibid., No. 193, p. 353.

Der uns dis liedlin nūwe sang,
des tuot vil manchen irren gang,
guot leben ist im tūre!
in siner teschen ist er swach,
er claget ser sin ungemach,
dasz ir im koment zuo stūre! (1476)¹⁹³

Der schere von J1lōw (1489) gives us one of the few examples from the barren eighties:

Der uns das liedli nuwes sang,
der schere von J1lōw ist ers genant,
er hats gar frōlich gesungen.
Den fromen sol man bieten er,
dem alten als dem jungen.¹⁹⁴

The Low German examples have a humorous note:

"De dussen reien heft gedicht,
he vorschicket jo de memmen nicht,
dat eimbecker der is om to dure,
dat beklagen sine geste,
de mit om sitten bi dem fure." (1492)¹⁹⁵

"De dūt lediken gedichtet hat,
he wanet to Brunswik in der stad
in einem kleinen huse;
he hat einen korten sinn,
wenn he drinket den kolden win,
so levet he in dem suse." (1492)¹⁹⁶

A brave lad usz berner biet (1499) boasts:

Der uns das liedli hat gesetzt,
er ist usz berner biet;
sin halbarten hat er gewezt
vor Gotlieben in dem riet,
da die Schwaben woltend wichen
und erstochen wurdend bhend;
er wil noch mengen erstechen,
e der krieg hab ein end!¹⁹⁷

The Schlacht bei Dorneck (1499) affords a few partisans an opportunity to boast, e.g.,

Der uns das liedlin nūwes sang,
ein frōscher eidgenosz ist ers genant,
er hats gar frōlich gesungen,
er hat mengen Swaben erstochen
und mit den Straszburgern gerungen.¹⁹⁸

Less harsh is the variant ending:

Der uns dis liedli nūws gesang,
ein guoter Schwizerknab ist ers genant,
er hats dick wol gesungen;
zuo Dorneck vor dem Grūnenwald

¹⁹³Ibid., No. 139, p. 81.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., No. 174, p. 273.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., No. 184, p. 319.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., No. 185, p. 322.

¹⁹⁷Ibid., No. 204, p. 394.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., No. 206 A, p. 401.

hat man den Schwaben das n̄st erschwungen.¹⁹⁹

or

Der es uns n̄w gesungen hat,
er ist gewesen bi diser tat,
ein guoter eidgnosz junge;
was hierin vergessen ist,
sing ein anderer ob ers k̄nne!²⁰⁰

The activity and interest aroused in writing historical songs at the turn of the fifteenth century continue with the same intensity for a few years, subside for a few more years, and then considerably increase at the end of the second decade. By 1520, the Reformation is definitely under way. Luther's activities begin to stir the people to action. The Swabian league uses drastic measures against those not in harmony with it. These trials and troubles are commented upon in the close-strophes at this time. These disturbances, however, do not blot out the lighter mood, which had begun at the turn of the century. Although many poets display wit, the majority are so affected by the times that the chiding and deriding, which is mild in form and intent in the early years of the sixteenth century, dominates the close-strophe at the end of the second decade. In fact, the close-strophe loses its significance and becomes a vehicle for banter or ridicule, and more rarely praise. The close-strophes are as numerous and as widely distributed as before the Reformation. One poet, at this time, offers an ending in which he combines our characteristic introductory line with several lines used in other types of endings:

Jch will es also pleiben lon,
es w̄rd die leut verdrieszen;
got well uns treulich bei beston!
Darmit will ich es beschlieszen.
Got wend uns f̄urbasz unser schwer!
Der uns das lied hat new gedicht,
sein seckel stet im ler! (1504)²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹Ibid., No. 206 B, p. 403.

²⁰⁰Ibid., No. 206 C, p. 406.

A few other names are also given in this period: Hans Kugler, No. 127, p. 12, Bartsch, ADB, XVII, 315; Veit Weber, Liliencron, II, No. 135, 41, Meyer von Knonau, ADB, XLI, 357; Mathes Schantz, our illustrative example, Liliencron, II, No. 202, 387; Hans Wick, ibid., No. 203, p. 390, Meyer von Knonau, ADB, XL, 9; Peter Müller, Liliencron, II, Nos. 201 and 210, 383 and 426.

²⁰¹Ibid., No. 243, p. 545. The familiar "Jch will es also pleiben lon" and "Darmit will ich es beschlieszen" are variants of the Middle High German "Hiemit endet diz maere." From the

Peter Hasenstaud (1502) has a sense of humor all his own:

Peter hasenstaud ich nennen tu,
er spricht gar oft dem wirte zu,
wenn er in will zornig machen,
er hab senftkornen in wein geton;
er macht in gar heunisch zu lachen! 202

Hans Birker (1507) is an eyewitness of what he has sung:

Der dises lied gemachet
und es zum ersten sang:
Hans Birker hats besachet,
es was darnach nit lang;
er darf es frölich jehen
mit ehr und auch mit glimpf,
wie sachen sind beschehen:
er hat es selber gsehen,
dann er was bi dem schimpf. 203

Conditions leave their effects on Hans Probst (1508):

Der uns das lied hat neus gmacht?
Hans Probst zuo Schwaz hat das gedicht,
er kanns nit beszer singen;

Middle High German era on such lines increase in popularity and flourish alongside the more frequent and more characteristic ending treated here. Examples of this type are the following: Erk and Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort* (Leipzig, 1894), 3 vols., Nos. 1080, 1103, 1105, 1131, 1172, 1515, 1523, and 1685, all from the sixteenth century; Liliencron, Nos. 11(1334-36), 50(1414-18), 115(1462), 122(1468), 196(1499), 256(1508), 286(1514), 294(1515), 299(1516), 270(1512), 279(1513), 291(1515), 311(1519), 334(1519-23), 342(1519), 310(1519), 353(1521), 356(1521, 2d part), 356(1521, 3d part), 363(1525), 427(1531), 420(1530), 429(1531), 445(1534), 461 b(1536), 462(1536), 470(1540), 482(1542), 510(1545), 517(1545), 519(1546), 550(1547), 494(1543), 502(1543), 566(1547), 594(1552), 601(1552), and 623(1554); Steiff, 25(1511), 30(1516), 32(1516), 36(1519), 42(1519), 57(1525), 66(1534), 67(ca. 1540), and 103(1600).

Another interesting type of ending is

Dit led is uns gesungen
van enem studenten gud;
der wiginge is he entrunnen,
de man to Danske geven deit,
de duvel mach se begeren!
er olie dat is rod,
darmit se ere prester smeren,
de platten scheren se to grot!

Liliencron, III, No. 401, 558. This type develops the same characteristics as a device for personal comments as does our type. The introductory line shows the influence of our characteristic introductory line. Some examples of this type are the following: Liliencron, Nos. 96, 350, 360, 382, 424, 454, 458, 461, 463, 490, 504, 526, 530, 582, 590 C, and 615; Steiff, Nos. 3, 5, and 53; Erk-Böhme, Nos. 153^a and 431.

202 Liliencron, II, No. 225, 475.

203 Ibid., III, No. 252, 12. Bartsch, ADB, II, 662.

er ist durchfaren weite land,
vil untrew ist im worden kant
got woll es zum pesten pringen.²⁰⁴

Martin Maier (1511), a Meistersinger, is not much happier:

Durchgraben ist sein angesicht
von diszer plag, die ietzt umb gat,
der diszen spruch gedichtet hat:
Martin Maier ist er genant
von Reutlingen im Schwaben land.
Got wöll uns allen Cristen geben
nach diszer zeit das ewig leben!²⁰⁵

Hans Umperlin (1516) believes in slyly informing Duke Ulrich of
Württemberg of his sad straits:

Der uns das liedlin newes singt,
der nennt sich Hans Umperlin,
er hat zwelf lebendige kind
und seind die sibne klain,
darzuo hat er gar wenig korn;
das liedlin will ich schenken
meinem fürsten hochgeborn.²⁰⁶

A few others give us their names,²⁰⁷ but their accompanying remarks call for no comment.

Most of the examples occurring in the period from 1500 to 1520 do not contain the name or the rank of the singer, and thus the close-strophe loses its original purpose. We find in them a vivid picture of the unrest and dissatisfaction of the time. These authors banter and ridicule their opponents in earnest. Since they give no marks of identification, they take courage and say what they feel. One unknown author offers Nürnberg a bit of sound advice:

Der uns dis lied von newem sang,
das hat ein Brandenburger tan,
will Nürnberg gewarnet haben,
dasz sie kein fürsten fürbasz nit
auf kein kirchweih mer laden! (1502)²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴Lillencron, III, No. 257, 28.

²⁰⁵Ibid., No. 264, p. 60. Maier gives another example which shows an interesting combination of concluding lines. Cf. Steiff, No. 25, p. 94.

²⁰⁶Lillencron, III, No. 299, 196.

²⁰⁷Caspar Jöppel, ibid., II, No. 222, 460; Hans Gern von Embs, ibid., No. 241, 539; Hans Wick, ibid., III, No. 290, 164; Hieronimus Ell, Nos. 339 and 340, pp. 337 and 339; Georg Fleicher, No. 307 b, p. 224; Christof Weyler, No. 307 a, p. 224; Matheus Jelin von Ulm, No. 322, p. 265.

²⁰⁸Ibid., II, No. 230, 489.

Another finds something at which to rejoice:

Der uns das hot gemacht
und neues gesungen hat,
sein herz doch allzeit lachet,
wanns den schelmen ubel gat:
ein silbern kreuz gar unverholn,
ein messbuch und ein messgewand
haben sie sant Anna gestoln! (1504)²⁰⁹

Another refuses to give his name:

Der uns das lied neus hat gesungen
und neus hat gemacht
er tuot sich nit nennen
von wegen seiner stat,
er ist dabei gewesen,
von guotem gschlächht geporn,
wår er nit entrunnen,
man het im auch drucken gschorn. (1504)²¹⁰

Another leaves no doubt as to which faction he supports:

Und der das lied gedichtet hat
zu lob kaiserlicher majestat,
zu eer dem loblichen pundte?
ir heckenreuter seit ermant,
dazs ir da niemants unrecht thund,
dazs wir nit wider komen! (1512)²¹¹

Another expresses hope for a judgment day, when justice prevails:

Der das lied hat gesungen,
will sich iez nennen nicht;
er maint wanns sölit aufkomen,
dazs man sie allsamd richt
sölche orenkräwer, federlesen darbei,
es würd noch manlichem sauer,
der iez gewaltig sei! (1516)²¹²

An anonymous Low German writer expresses his preference:

De dit lid sang erst nie
to eren der romischen krone,
god make en der sunden frie
und geve 8m vele to lone!
Prisen wil he dat romische rik,
leve de he noch vele jare,
ok de heren to Brunswik,
dat merk man hir openbare! (1519)²¹³

Another feels that the truth must be uttered:

De uns dat leid heft gedicht,
de warheid kan he swigen nicht,
de logen moste he don schelden.
God behode om to aller stund

²⁰⁹Ibid., No. 236, p. 515.

²¹⁰Ibid., No. 246 A, p. 556.

²¹¹Ibid., III, No. 269, 77.

²¹²Ibid., No. 304, p. 208.

²¹³Ibid., No. 312, p. 237.

und make om sin lif gesund
und hernamals behode one vor der helle! (1519)²¹⁴

A third is pleased with the efforts of Lenhart van Bacheracht and his companions:

De uns dut leid nu heft erdacht,
he schenket Lenert van Bacheracht
und allen fromen landsknechten;
mit eren trecken se dorch dat land,
bi forsten und heren sin se gekant,
se krigen alle mit rechte. (1519)²¹⁵

In the period from 1520 to 1540, events of general interest are constantly happening, and songs referring to them are evenly distributed over these years. In the close-strophes we often find an expression of sadness traceable to the continual conflicts, differences, and mistreatments in this period. Many singers cannot refrain from expressing disgust, disappointment, and even personal grievances. Religious controversy unlooses new invectives. The close-strophe increases in popularity as a device for banter, but a few level-headed poets balance the harshness of of those who express their unbridled emotions. Most of the poets who give their names, even though they indulge in a little satire now and then, belong to the level-headed group. Few instances are now found in which the author uses the close-strophe for the purpose of introducing himself. To sign the name is now only a matter of form. As in the previous periods, there are the usual sober poets with their desires for peace and the Lord's blessings upon the land. On the other hand, there are those who say things worthy of rebuff and punishment, but like those who preceded them in such tactics, they are careful to leave no clues for identification.

Kunz Has (1520), a Meistersinger, belongs to the level-headed poets, and offers a few words of advice:

Kunz Hasz der hat dis lied gedicht,
ist nun ein alter man.
Maria verlest kein Christen nicht,
wer sie ruft fleiszig an
und ermant sie an den schmerzen,
den sie umb ires Kindes tod
erlyd in irem herzen.²¹⁶

²¹⁴Ibid., No. 328, p. 287.

²¹⁵Ibid., No. 332, p. 307. Others without names at this time are the following: Liliencron, Nos. 226, 227, 229, 243, 245, 268, 289, 293, 309, 315, 327, and 341.

²¹⁶Ibid., III, No. 346, 356.

Wilhelm Nuen von Römilt (1525) expresses a compassionate attitude:

Der uns dieses liedlein sang,
 Wilhelm Nuen von Römilt ist ers genant,
 er hats so frei gesungen,
 er hat des schimpfs ein end gewart;
 die bawern haben gelitten hart,
 sein vil umbs leben kommen!²¹⁷

Lienhart Ott (1525) is not so kind:

Der uns das liedlin new gesang,
 Lienhart Ott ist ers genant,
 er hats also gesungen;
 er ist auch selbs am sturm gewesen,
 die Gecken seind im nit alle entrunnen.²¹⁸

Lörg Wetzel (1525) gently reminds all to take heed:

Der uns das neuw thuot singen
 und hat gemacht dis lied,
 thuot sich Lörg Wetzel nennen,
 geborn von Schützenried;
 der wil das liedlein schenken
 beid frawen und auch man,
 daz jeder sol gedenken,
 was er vor hab gethan.²¹⁹

Hans Wittstat (ca. 1530), a Meistersinger, shows the influence of the folk song at this time, and gives an example in a typical folkmanier:

Der uns das Liedlein neu gesang
 Hans Wizstat von Wertheim ist ers genannt,
 Er hats so wol gesungen,
 Ist ihm ein Weingart durch den Bauch gefahrn,
 Kein Reb hat ihn gekrummen.²²⁰

Two others follow this lighter vein, the Low German Meinert van Hamme (1532) with

De uns dit nie ledlin sang,
 Meinert van Hamme is he genant,
 de heft gar wol gesungen;
 he drinkt vel lever den rinschen kolden win,
 als 't water ut dem brunnen.²²¹

and Wilhelm Wechter (1536) with

Der uns das liedlin hat betracht,
 in einem thurm hat ers gemacht,
 er heisst der Wilhelm Wechter;
 wann er nit ausz der krausen trinkt,
 so trinkt er ausz dem becher.²²²

²¹⁷Ibid., No. 379, p. 467. ²¹⁸Ibid., No. 389, p. 504.

²¹⁹Ibid., No. 376, p. 451.

²²⁰Erk-Böhme, Vol. III, No. 1616.

²²¹Liliencron, IV, No. 436, 46.

²²²Ibid., No. 464, p. 147.

Both poets who give their rank and those who give neither rank nor name contribute interesting examples, e.g., the humor of

Der uns das liedlein newes sang,
von newem hat gesungen,
das hat gethan ein lanzknecht guot,
den raihe hat er gesprungen,
wann er ist auf der kirchwei gewest,
der pfeffer ward versalzen,
man richt in mit langen spieszen an,
mit helleparten gschmalzen. (1525)²²³

or the bitterness of

Wer ist der uns dis liedlein sang?
ein junger eidgnosz hat es gethan
zuo lob der frommen alten.
Bym waren glauben alle zeit
wöllest uns, o gott, erhalten!
Der zürischer Endchrist Ulrich
vom geschlecht Zwingli der böswicht
den krieg hat er angefangen;
ach wer er die weil über tausent meil
am höchsten galgen gehangen! (1531)²²⁴

or the fearful attitude of

Der uns das liedlin new gesang,
der "Niemand hats gethan" ist er genant,
er darf sich selbst nit nennen,
denn käm er under die luthrischen baurn,
sie thäten in verbrennen. (1533)²²⁵

The contrasting attitudes of the following

"Der uns das liedlin hat gesetzt,
sin leben hat er gar verschetzt
wol uf diser erden.
Ach milter gott, gib gnad darzuo,
zenieszen dich mit guoter ruow,
daz wir all selig werden." (1531)²²⁶

"Der uns das lied hat gsungen,
von newem gesungen hat,
nicht lang hat er sich bsunnen,
an einem abend spat;
den frommen landsknechten ist er hold,
sie seind nicht zu bezalen
vor silber und rotes gold!" (1532)²²⁷

²²³Ibid., III, No. 372, 438. ²²⁴Ibid., IV, No. 428, 31.

²²⁵Ibid., No. 444, p. 63. Cf. Greyerz, ibid., p. 21,
"Wir begreifen den Schlaumeier, der in seinem Schmählid auf die
Reformierten in Solothurn (1533) den alten odysseeischen Wortwitz
zu Hilfe ruft:

Der uns das liedlin neu gesang,
der Niemand hats g'tan ist er genant."

²²⁶Liliencron, IV, No. 432, 41.

²²⁷Ibid., No. 440, p. 54.

show the freedom with which the close-strophe was used. In this period (1520-1540), as in the preceding (1500-1520), most of the examples contain no names of poets.²²⁸

The number of examples in which the name or the rank of the author is given decreases markedly, and the harshness of the remarks about contemporary conditions is greatly tempered between 1540 and 1560. During this period examples without the name or rank are more numerous than those with the name and with rank. The poet's inclination now is to leave out the name, whatever the accompanying remarks may be. After the middle of the century, the close-strophe becomes a convention, an adornment. The religious feeling of the previous period (1520-1540) is still very prominent in the remarks of the poets, both known and unknown. The poets, however, are now beginning to see a new light. Their better understanding of the changing conditions gradually shows them that their invectives of a few years previous do not aid in the solution of their problems. Bitterness disappears, and the poet now hopes for peace, however distant the realization might be. Even though some poets still defend their respective factions--a normal human trait--their remarks show that a change is taking place. Severe emotional tension definitely wanes, even though the poets continue to be earnest in their desires. A few examples will illustrate these changing attitudes:

"Der dis lied hat gesungen,
hats nur darumb gethan,
daz er den falschen zungen
damit mücht widerstan,
die keiser Carlen haszen sehr.
Solt ers schon haben nimmer ehr,
so wil ers doch bekennen:
Jordan thut er sich nennen." (1543)²²⁹

"Der das lied hat gesungen,
von newem hat gemacht,
der ist mit dem leben darvon komen
und hats wol betracht,
Laux Lörcher das verdorben bluot,
ist auch darbei gewesen.
Got hab die frumen landsknecht in huot!" (1543)²³⁰

²²⁸ Other poets signing their names follow: Jörg Dappach, *ibid.*, Vol. III, Nos. 348, 416, and 417, pp. 360, 604, and 606; Mert Sporer, *ibid.*, No. 402, p. 562; Cristoffel Zell, No. 415, p. 602. The examples without names follow: Liliencron, Nos. 358, 366, 383, 390, 408, 418 a, 418 b, 427, 450, 452, 456, and Steiff, No. 82.

²²⁹ Liliencron, IV, No. 497, 223. ²³⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 501, p. 232.

"De uns dit leidgen dichte,
 Hans van Sütten is he genant;
 sin herze was so lichte,
 do he to stride solt gaen;
 dar stond beneven siner siden
 manig landsknecht edel und wis:
 'her broder, wir willen striden!'
 den gelderschen knechten geve ik den pris." (1543)²³¹

"Der uns dis lied nūw gesang,
 von nūwem gedichtet hat,
 dasz hat gethan ein kriegsman guot,
 wie bald er kam ab der schlacht;
 er ist wyt umbherzogen
 in tutschem und welschem land;
 kein trūw kan er nit finden,
 die welt ist voller sünden;
 Caspar Suter ist er genant." (1544)²³²

"Der das lied hat gesungen,
 heist Paul von Newenstat,
 die lieb hat ihn gezwungen,
 die er zum rechten hat;
 er ist feind aller falscheit
 und aller verretherei;
 last uns die untrew haszen
 und gotts wort nicht verlaszen,
 uf dasz gott bei uns sei!" (1547)²³³

"Der uns das liedlein hat gemacht,
 Huldseilig ist sein nam,
 nach gottes reich er immer tracht,
 den schelmen ist er gram,
 die Deutschland han verrathen,
 wūnscht ihn das herzeleid;
 gott helf uns mit genaden
 zur ewigen seligkeit!" (1515)²³⁴

Equally varied are examples from unknown poets in which the attitudes are serious, jovial, strongly religious, didactical, or after the nature of the folk song. A few representative examples follow:

"Der uns dis lied gesungen hat,
 der gibt zum besten gerne rath,
 zum kriegen hat er gar kein lust,
 dennoch ist er itzund gerüst;

²³¹Ibid., No. 492, p. 212.

²³²Ibid., No. 508, p. 252. Th. von Liebenau, ADB, XXXVII, 200.

²³³Lilliencron, IV, No. 555, 426.

²³⁴Ibid., No. 587, p. 504. Lilliencron supposes this Huldseilig to be a pseudonym of Erasmus Alberus. "Die ganz ähnliche Art, wie sich in Nr. 589, 29 der Dichter einführt, als den uns der Uebersarbeiter dieses Liedes Erasmus Alberus nennt, legt die Vermuthung nah, dasz auch hier Alberus in diesem 'Huldseilig' zu suchen sei." Ibid.

gott sei sein licht,
daz er an im verzage nicht!" (1542)²³⁵

"Wer uns dis liedlein hat gemacht?
zwen landsknecht han es wol betracht
und hand es wol besonnen;
der groschen haben sie nich viel,
taler sind in zerronnen." (1542)²³⁶

"Der uns das liedle hat gemacht,
selb hat ers nit erdacht,
warhaft ists im fürkommen
an aller heiligen nacht;
kein ruow mocht er nit haben,
er sinnet nach der sach,
wie gott erregt die sinen,
die zuo im rufen, grynem,
dann er hat kraft und macht." (1545)²³⁷

"Der dis lied hat gesungen,
zum ersten hat gemacht,
der wünschet allen frommen
vil tausend guter nacht,
darzu auch ein ewigen frid;
auf daz wir den erlangen,
last uns got fleiszig bitt." (1546)²³⁸

"Der uns dis lied gesungen hat,
mit gutem rath
geticht in gottes namen,
der warheit ist er stets geneigt,
sein herz das zeugt,
und haszt des teufels samen,
der krieg sät ein;
gott schützt die sein,
geb einigkeit,
in ewigkeit,
wünscht er von herzen, amen!" (1547)²³⁹

"Der uns das liedlein machet
und singt dis nûw gesang?
ein guot gsell unverachtet
von Büren usz Berner land,
er hats zum ersten gsungen
und dicht mit ganzem flysz;
wie ers dismal vernommen,
also hat ers gesungen,
wers basz kan, bhalt den prys!" (1548)²⁴⁰

"Der uns dies liedlein hat gemacht,
er fragt nicht nach der feinde bracht,
er weisz, gott wirt sie stürzen,
die ihr vaterland verrathen han,
ihr leben wirt er kürzen." (1551)²⁴¹

²³⁵ Ibid., No. 479, p. 185.

²³⁶ Ibid., No. 481, p. 194.

²³⁷ Ibid., No. 518, p. 288.

²³⁸ Ibid., No. 533, p. 349.

²³⁹ Ibid., No. 547, p. 399.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., No. 574, p. 473.

²⁴¹ Ibid., No. 589, p. 514.

"Wer ists, der uns ditz lied new sang?
 er ist gewesen beim anfang,
 bisz die schlacht ward gewonnen.
 Marggraf Albrechts pferd ist wol beschlaßen,
 ausz dem feld ist er entrunnen." (1554) ²⁴²

In summing up, we find that in the early period of the historical song, the author uses the close-strophe merely to introduce himself. Later, he uses it less and less for this purpose. He leaves out his name and substitutes his rank, and finally, he uses it only as an outlet for personal remarks. The remarks frequently show how the poets react to contemporary events.

The Close-Strophe in Folk Songs

The examples in folk songs show the close-strophe in its last stage, merely as a convention, an adornment. The impersonal replaces the personal; the material frequently becomes stereotyped. The close-strophe indicates less and less a feeling toward surrounding conditions. Our uncertainty about the origins of the songs makes it difficult to establish any exact chronology. Now and then the examples appear in clusters, and at times we are able to recognize the effect of passing events on the close-strophe. The close-strophe is not readily taken into the folk song, because its earliest use is to introduce the author.²⁴³ Moreover, the folk song, which is essentially impersonal poetry, does not freely use the close-strophe, until the close-strophe loses the purpose of introducing the author. In the end, however, the folk song is the only material in which it appears.

The first example of the close-strophe in folk song does not identify the poet, but contains nevertheless a personal element

²⁴² Ibid., No. 623, p. 614. Other names at this time are the following: a Low German, Reinhold Junge, No. 512, p. 263; Jacob Strölin, No. 543, p. 385; Hans Schmid, No. 536, p. 358; Paul Speltacher, No. 592, p. 525; Hans Veiel, Steiff, No. 73, p. 354. Others without names are the following: Liliencron, Vol. IV, Nos. 479, 493 (Low German), 511, 531, 535, 537, 546, 549, 550, 551, 556, 573, 579, 581, 590 A (Low German), 590 B, 596, 613, 614, 616 (Low German), 617 (Low German), 622, and Steiff, No. 69, p. 357.

²⁴³ Otto Schell mentions the ending as a possible source of information to identify the author or authors. Cf. Otto Schell, Das Volkslied ("Handbücher zur Volkskunde," III; Leipzig, 1908), 53: "Zu diesen Schlüssen berechtigen uns die vielfach am Schluss der Lieder vorkommenden Andeutungen." This meager information still found in a few endings is a remnant of the original purpose to introduce the author.

which appears especially in the poet's grim humor:

Stanza 13. Der diesen Strausz erdichtet
 Und zu eim Lied gemacht,
 Der hat es wohl besichtet
 Und eigentlich betracht,
 Dasz er sich meint zu hüten
 Wohl vor der Bauren Schaar,
 Dann wann sie werden wüthen,
 So hilft an ihn' kein Güten,
 Gang gar fürwahr
 Käm einer dar,
 Er würd sein gewahr:
 Macht er ihr einen bluten,
 Er müsz da lassen Haar. (ca. 1450)²⁴⁴

The second example, about 1460, is almost free of the personal element, and illustrates the attitude typical of the close-strophe in later folk song:

Stanza 12. Der uns das Liedlein neu's gesang,
 Das that ein freier Gsell,
 Er reit zu Ulm aus und ein,
 Es mühe recht wen es well';
 Er hat so wohl gesungen
 Aus seinem freien Muth
 Ist ihm so wohl gelungen
 Von einer Jungfrauen gut.²⁴⁵

Toward the end of the century, the close-strophe becomes a little more popular, corresponding to its wider use in historical songs. In historical songs, however, the close-strophe is used extensively without the singer's name, and in folk song it occasionally follows the older manner of signing a name, but these are rarities, whether the names are fictitious or not:

"Der uns diesz Liedle neue sang,
 Peter Unverdorben ist er genant,
 Er sangs aus freiem Muth.
 Er singt uns das und keines mehr,
 Und sollt er leben, er säng es mehr:
 Also schied er von dannen."²⁴⁶

"De uns dessen Reig nû sang,
 Hertich Hinrick is he genannt,
 he is en schone Junkhere,
 he ret to Brunswig ut und in,
 he singet er uns wol mere."²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴Erk-Büchle, Vol. III, No. 1534.

²⁴⁵Ibid., No. 1675. ²⁴⁶Ibid., Vol. I, No. 60.

²⁴⁷Paul Alpers, Die alten niederdeutschen Volkslieder (Hamburg, 1924), No. 88, p. 185. There are several other examples of the close-strophe in Alpers collection which have originals in High German, and, therefore, are not treated here. These are Nos. 8, 27, 28, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 44, 52, and 58.

The lull in the appearance of examples from about 1500 to about 1515 is followed for a few years, by a few scattering examples. About 1525, the famous Der Schreiber im Korbe appears with a name attached:

Der uns das Liedlein neus gesang,
Ein gut Gesell ist ers genannt.
Heinrice Kunrade, der Schreiber im Korbe.²⁴⁸

Also about this time, Hans Probst, whom we have already met as a writer of historical song, has a version of the close-strophe which smacks of the folk song:

Der uns das liet gesungen,
Hans Probst von Schwatz genant,
also hat ers besunnen,
er ist gar weit erkant,
das lant hat er gebauen,
got haben in seiner huot,
nit lenger wil er trauren
wol umb das zeitlich guot.²⁴⁹

By 1530, the close-strophe is used rather frequently in folk songs, but the signing of names has disappeared completely. Balthas von Heilprunn,²⁵⁰ of course, is an exception. We notice in the close-strophe a striking similarity to the attitudes and phrases found in certain historical songs. Compare for example the close-strophes of historical songs,

De uns die nie ledlin sang,
Meinert vam Hamme is he genant,
de heft gar wol gesungen;
he drinkt vel lever den rinschen kolden win,
als 't water ut dem brunnen. (1532)²⁵¹

and

Der uns das liedlin hat betracht,
in einem thurm hat ers gemacht,
er heiszt der Wilhelm Wechter;
wann er nit ausz der krausen trinkt,
so trinkt er ausz dem becher. (1536)²⁵²

Typical parallels in folk song are the last stanza of the famous Die sieben stallbrüder aus Sachsen,

²⁴⁸Erk-Böhme, Vol. I, No. 144.

²⁴⁹Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes (Hannover, 1861), No. 289, p. 472.

²⁵⁰Cf. Liliencron, Deutsches Leben im Volkslied, p. 377.

²⁵¹Liliencron, IV, No. 436, 46.

²⁵²Ibid., No. 464, p. 147.

Und der uns dieses Liedlein sang,
 Ein freier Landsknecht ist er genannt,
 Er hats so frei gesungen,
 Der schwarzen Pfennig hat er nit viel,
 Der weissen sind ihm zerunnen,
 Er trinkt viel lieber trüben Wein,
 Dann Wasser aus lauterem Brunnen.²⁵³

and

Der uns dieses Liedlein sang,
 Von neuem hat gesungen,
 Das hat gethan ein Landsknecht gut,
 Ihm ist gut wohl gelungen.
 Er singt uns das und noch viel mehr,
 Er hats so frei gesungen.
 Er hat kein Geld im Seckel mehr:
 Der Würfel hats ihm genommen.
 Beim Brunnen, beim Brunnen.²⁵⁴

For the next decade and a half only a few examples appear, but about 1550 the close-strophe becomes common. The generally jovial, lackadaisical, and care-free attitude expressed in folk song stands in striking contrast to the attitudes expressed in the historical songs. Compare for example Jörg Busch's last stanza in Buchdrucker-Orden (ca. 1550),

Und der uns dieses Liedlein g'macht,
 Der gönnt den Druckern Guts.
 Er wünscht allen ein gute Nacht,
 Er ist so gern guts Muts;
 Ist ihm etwan miszlungen,
 So komm ihm Glück zu Rath.
 Das hat Jörg Busch gesungen
 Zu Nürnberg in der Stadt.²⁵⁵

or

Der uns das Liedlein hat gemacht,
 Der hat gedicht ein ganze Nacht;
 Ein junger Knab hat groszen Preis,
 Frauen zu dienen war ihm heisz,
 Mich freut, Herzlieb, dein rother Mund.²⁵⁶

and

Der uns das Lied hat gesungen
 Aus frischem Muth,
 Das thät ein Schreiber junge
 Von frischem Blut

²⁵³Erk-Bühne, Vol. III, No. 1293.

²⁵⁴Ibid., Vol. II, No. 438.

²⁵⁵Ibid., Vol. III, No. 1628. Contrasts in historical song by Caspar Suter, Paul von Neuenstadt, and Huldseilig have been cited on p. 52.

²⁵⁶Erk-Bühne, Vol. II, No. 799.

Seiner Allerliebsten zart.
 Er hats gar oft gesungen;
 Von seinem Lieb ist er kommen,
 Freut sich der Wiederfahrt.²⁵⁷

The close-strophe loses in popularity after about 1560, even though its use is limited to folk song. The custom of signing the name in the close-strophe is gone, and only isolated examples are found outside it down to 1600. When the Meistersinger Lorenz Wessel writes "lo:/rentz wessel von Essen dihtt.--" 1562,²⁵⁸ one can already notice the beginning of the change mentioned above (p. 29). Two other examples, both in folk songs, occur in these years. They are the last stanza of Wilhelm Tell (ca. 1580),

Nehmt hin, fromm Eidgenossen,
 Die hoch aufrichtig sind,
 Das Lied, hiermit beschlossen
 Thut schlagen in den Wind!
 Der Muheim hats gesungen,
 Gedichtet und gemehrt,
 Zur Warnung gelehrt den Jungen,
 Dem Vaterland verehrt.²⁵⁹

and the last few lines of Der Zug nach Portugal (ca. 1600),

Dieses Lied uns selbst hat gemacht
 Hans Bauhof, der in einer Schlacht
 In Welschland ist unkommen.
 Falideridum.²⁶⁰

The nature of folk song makes it difficult to evaluate the remarks made in the close-strophe. The close-strophe becomes impersonal and conventional: it serves as a formula and not as an ideal indicium of the attitude of the author. In general, the authors paint a happy picture of their surroundings. To them life is not the serious, disconcerting phenomenon which it was to those of the previous decades, but is a source of pleasure as well as disappointments. The folk song reacts naively to these pleasures and disappointments. When not too stereotyped, the close-strophes reveal the authors' feelings. A few typical examples follow:

²⁵⁷Ibid., Vol. III, No. 1446.

²⁵⁸T. Hampe, "Studien zur Geschichte des Meistersgesangs," Vierteljahrschrift für Litteraturgeschichte, VI (1893), 331.

²⁵⁹Erk-Böhme, Vol. I, No. 32. This Muheim is Hieronymus Muheim of Uri. Cf. Greyerz, op. cit., p. 16.

²⁶⁰E.-K., Vol. II, No. 300.

"Und wer hat wol dies Lied gemacht?
Zwei Solidaten auf der Wacht,
Ein Tambour und ein Pfeifer.
Und wer das Lied nicht singen kann,
Der fang es an zu pfeifen."²⁶¹

"Und wer ist, der uns dies Liedlein sang,
Und neu es gesungen hat;
Es hats gethan ein Balbirers Knab,
Gott geb ihm ein gut Jahr.
Er hats gar wohl gesungen,
Beim Meth und kühlen Wein;
Dabey sind geseszen
Drey hübsche Jungfräulein."²⁶²

"Der uns dies Liedlein erst erdacht,
Durch lieb ist er in Trauren bracht
Um einer Jungfrau willen;
Ach, möcht ich noch einmal bei ihr sein,
Ihr Trauren wollt ich stillen."²⁶³

"Der nun das Lied von neuem sang,
Ein Reitersmann was er genannt.
Dann ihm hat misselungen,
Ist um sein Buhlen kummen."²⁶⁴

"Wer ist der uns das Liedlein sang,
Von neuem g'sungen hat, ei ja hat?
Das hat gethan ein Fischer,
Ein junger und ein frischer,
Zu dienst dem Fischermägdelein, ei ja -lein."²⁶⁵

²⁶¹Ibid., No. 858. ²⁶²Görres, p. 109.

²⁶³Erk-Böhme, Vol. III, No. 1308. ²⁶⁴Ibid., Vol. I, No. 100^a.

²⁶⁵Ibid., Vol. II, No. 487^b. Other representative endings in folk songs of this period are Nos. 41^b, 74^a, 74^e, 154, 173^c, 402, 426, 436^a, 481^b, 799, 808, 1301, 1307, 1446, 1680, and 1716; Görres, pp. 58, 71, 93, 129, 152, 182, 184, 246, and 332; P. Alpers, Nos. 56, 60, 64, and 70; Steiff, No. 100, p. 439; Liliencron, Deutsches Leben im Volkslied, p. 217.

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